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Philippe Luisier, S.J.

In memoriam: René Lavenant, S.J. (1926-2013)

Professeur d'arabe au Liban, puis de syriaque à Rome, éditeur de nombreux volumes du *Symposium Syriacum* et directeur de la *Patrologia Orientalis* pendant une décennie, le P. René Lavenant nous a quittés à la fin du printemps de cette année.

Il était né le 27 mars 1926 à Davézieux dans l'Ardèche, lieu d'origine des frères Montgolfier, à deux pas de la ville d'Annonay, non loin de Lalouvesc qui conserve le souvenir de saint Jean-François de Régis et de sainte Thérèse Couderc. De ses origines ardéchoises et paysannes, le P. Lavenant gardera des traits de caractère qui l'ont bien marqué, auxquels s'ajouteront une forte myopie et une distraction de savant qui le rendaient unique et inoubliable. Quand nous lui avons demandé une photographie pour le fascicule 225 qui contient la *Table des matières des tomes I à L* de la *Patrologia Orientalis*, il envoya un portrait fort peu académique, rempli d'un sourire lumineux et avec un regard plein de gentillesse et d'intelligence. Pourtant, il pouvait se montrer bourru ou trop insistant quand il répétait plusieurs fois la même question pour obtenir la réponse qu'il désirait et une de ses réparties, avec la réaction d'un illustre confrère, est restée célèbre dans la communauté de l'Institut Pontifical Oriental. Certains ont pu le croire ingénu, alors qu'il était parfaitement lucide sur les problèmes qu'il devait affronter. Une réserve naturelle, voire une certaine timidité l'auront empêché de donner toute la mesure de ses capacités scientifiques et humaines, car il avait un cœur d'or.

Après des études secondaires au Petit Séminaire d'Avignon, il entre au noviciat de la Compagnie de Jésus le 30 septembre 1944, dans la Province de Lyon à laquelle est confiée la mission du Proche-Orient. À sa demande, il part pour le Liban en 1946, d'abord comme coopérant au Petit Séminaire Saint-Maroun à Ghazir, puis comme étudiant d'arabe pendant deux ans à Bikfaya. Après ses études philosophiques et théologiques en France, interrompues par un nouveau séjour à Ghazir, il est ordonné prêtre en juillet 1958. De 1959 à 1961, il suit à l'École pratique des Hautes Études de Paris les leçons de syriaque données par Antoine Guillaumont, parcours qu'il termine avec le diplôme dont le fruit, l'édition et la traduction de la *Lettre à Patricius* de Philoxène de Mabboug, est publié dans la *Patrologia Orientalis*

en 1963. Dans l'Introduction, il remercie entre autres le P. Irénée Hausherr, « qui s'est généreusement désisté en notre faveur de l'édition qu'il avait projetée »¹. Jeune étudiant jésuite en France, il s'était initié au syriaque auprès du P. François Graffin. Il aimait cette langue et la maîtrisait au point d'écrire des poèmes spirituels, mais sa modestie ne lui permettait pas d'en faire étalage.

C'est pourtant à l'enseignement de l'arabe qu'il va se consacrer une fois rentré au Liban et il commence en 1963 sa collaboration au CREA, le « Centre Religieux d'Études Arabes » que les Jésuites ont ouvert à Bikfaya. Il poursuivra cette activité à Beyrouth, où le CREA a déménagé, de 1971 jusqu'à 1980, quand il sera appelé à Rome pour enseigner le syriaque conjointement à l'Institut Oriental, succédant au P. Ignacio Ortiz de Urbina, et à l'Institut Biblique, où il reprend les cours du P. Raimund Köbert. C'est au Biblique qu'il séjourne d'abord pendant une année, puis le Recteur de l'Oriental le suppliant de venir habiter sur l'Esquilin, il s'y installe en 1981 pour y demeurer jusqu'au mois de septembre 2002. Chaque année jusqu'en 1985, il va au Liban pour collaborer à la révision de la traduction arabe de l'Ancien Testament. Les volumes de cette nouvelle version de la « Bible des Jésuites de Beyrouth » seront offerts à Jean-Paul II et une magnifique photographie immortalise la belle tête chenue du P. Lavenant, debout derrière le Pape qui appose, visiblement amusé, sa signature sur la première page d'un exemplaire ouvert pour être feuilleté de gauche à droite.

S'il achève l'enseignement du syriaque à l'Institut Biblique en 1994, il assure à l'Oriental, dans un bureau qu'il a fort bien aménagé, la direction de la *Patrologia Orientalis* reprise du P. Graffin en 1992. Pendant quinze ans, de 1983 à 1998, il édite seul, ou avec d'autres savants pour le numéro quatre, les Actes des congrès des syriacisants dans la série des *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* : ce sont les volumes III, IV, V, VI et VII du *Symposium Syriacum*. Une œuvre plus ambitieuse lui a été confiée, qui est de refondre et de rédiger en français le manuel du P. Ortiz de Urbina intitulé *Patrologia syriaca*. Malheureusement, bien que beaucoup de fiches de lecture et d'annotations dans le gros ouvrage de Cyril Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum*, témoignent d'un labeur constant, il va se décourager devant la masse de travail que cela représente. La parution de bibliographies spécialisées et d'autres ouvrages didactiques rendent du reste le projet de plus en plus aléatoire et quand le P. Lavenant quitte Rome, il l'abandonne définitivement.

De 2002 jusqu'en 2009, il habite à Lyon rue Sala et collabore aux *Sources Chrétiennes*. S'il avait merveilleusement supporté l'ablation d'une tumeur

¹ *La Lettre à Patricius de Philoxène de Mabboug*. Édition critique du texte syriaque et traduction française par René Lavenant, PO 147 (30.5), Paris 1963, 735.

bénigne au cerveau opérée à l'hôpital Gemelli de Rome, il sait déjà, quand il quitte la Ville éternelle, que la maladie de Parkinson l'a atteint. Il vivra les dernières années à Francheville près de Lyon, dans la maison de repos des Pères âgés, où il eut la joie d'avoir quelques compagnons avec qui entretenir des discussions nourries, comme le P. Joseph Paramelle et le P. Louis Neyrand. Sa voix était déjà bien faible au téléphone le 27 mars de cette année, jour de son quatre-vingt sixième anniversaire. Il s'est éteint paisiblement le 13 juin².

Institut Pontifical Oriental

Philippe Luisier, S.J.

² Pour une bibliographie des travaux du P. Lavenant, voir l'article de D. Gonnet dans le prochain numéro de la revue *Hugoye*.

Mark J. Edwards

Egyptian Thunder: *Nag Hammadi Codices* VI.2

The *Thunder, Perfect Mind* is for many readers the most beguiling of the Coptic texts discovered in 1945 at Nag Hammadi in Egypt. It is also, of all these texts, the most resistant to classification — a riddle in the colloquial sense, whatever its place may be in a strict taxonomy of genres. While parallels lie to hand in Sethian and Mandaean literature, it does not belong to any school of Gnostic thought that received a name in antiquity, and, notwithstanding occasional reminiscences of the Old Testament, and perhaps of the New, it could not be described as Jewish or Christian, even if these terms are employed with all the elasticity permitted by ancient usage. The aim of the present paper is not to solve an insoluble enigma, still less to create a page in a modern bestiary for this protean offspring of an extinct faith: on the contrary, it will argue that the full range of legitimate conjectures has by no means been exhausted, and that no interpretation will be half complete if it fails to see in the polymorphic character of the work, not only a proof of its hybrid origin, but a clue to the philosophy that informs it and the end for which it would be employed by a reader who subscribed to that philosophy. Before I set out my argument in detail, I shall begin with a brief synopsis of the *Thunder* and a review of two familiar speculations, which I hope not to refute but to refine by subsuming both within a theory of wider scope.

Synopsis of the Text

The title of the treatise, and the relation between the terms “Thunder” and “Perfect Mind,” are not explained. In a poem by Ephrem Syrus, an orthodox (or at least not heterodox), contemporary of the scribe, Christ the Word is the voiceless thunder entering Mary’s womb (*Nativity Hymn* 11.6); unfortunately, there is no explicit reference to the Word in the Coptic poem to confirm the tenuous inference that might be suggested by this observation. The text does not contain an unmistakable allusion to Exodus 9.23, where God speaks in thunder to Moses, or to Christ’s gentle chiding of two

zealots as sons of thunder at Mark 3.17. The opening lines maintain the incognito, even while they appear to promise revelation:¹

I was sent forth from [the] power,
and I have come to those who reflect upon me,
and I have been found among those who seek after me
(NHC VI.2.13.1-3).

After adjuring those whom she addresses not to be ignorant of her, the speaker goes on to describe herself in the oxymoronic fashion that will prove to be characteristic of the whole text:

For I am the first and the last.
I am the honoured one and the scorned one.
I am the whore and the holy one.
I am the wife and the virgin.
I am (the mother) and the daughter.
I am the members of my mother.
I am the barren one and many are her sons.
(NHC VI.2.13.17-23).

She proclaims herself the mother of her father and the sister of the husband who is her offspring (13.31-33). A few lines later, she is "the voice whose sound is manifold" and the utterance of her name (14.14-16). Exhorting those who deny her to confess her, and those who know her to shed their knowledge, she resumes the train of paradox:

I am knowledge and ignorance.
I am shame and boldness.
I am shameless; I am ashamed.
(NHC VI.2.14.28-30).

There is a curious reminiscence here of Tertullian's *non pudet, quia pudendum* (*On the Flesh of Christ* 5). The attribution of contradictory epithets to the highest principle was a notorious practice in Gnostic literature, attested in sundry texts from Nag Hammadi; only in the *Thunder*, however, is the subject female, and although her epithets are more abundant, few are such as could be applied to the hidden Father. She boasts of her wealth and poverty (14.34-15.1), declares she is cruel and compassionate (15.16), and demands to know why her weakness in strength and folly in wisdom are slighted by the nations:

¹ All translations by George Macrae and D. M. Parrott, in J. M. Robinson (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices in English* (San Francisco: Harper, 1988), 297-303.

Why then have you hated me, you Greeks?
 Because I am a barbarian among [the] barbarians?
 For I am the wisdom [of the] Greeks and the knowledge of the barbarians.
 I am the judgment of [the] Greeks and of the barbarians.
 I am she whose image is great in Egypt and the one who has no image among
 the barbarians.
 I am the one who has been hated everywhere, and who has been loved every-
 I am the one whom they call Life, and you have called Death. [where.
 I am the one whom they call law and you have called Lawlessness.
 (NHC VI.2.16.1-6).

Isis was the most celebrated goddess of the Egyptians; it could be said
 of Yahweh in one sense and of all other gods in another, that they had no
 image among the Jews, whom Justin and other apologists extol as barbar-
 ians wiser than the Greeks. The wisdom of Greece was put to flight by the
 foolishness of the Cross; Eve, who was life in Eden, has bequeathed death
 to her exiled progeny; the law of the spirit was given to those who received
 no law from Moses. But how can the voice of a single being emerge from
 this babel of glosses? As the text proceeds, she complains that she is cursed
 and honoured by those who have wounded her and shown mercy (17.35-
 36); she is peace and war, an alien and a citizen, the insubstantial sub-
 stance (24-27). Close to the ignorant, far from those who know her; close to
 those who are far from her, yet distant in her own closeness (18.33-19.3),
 she is judgment and acquittal, the sinless one from whom sin derives its
 root (19.14-16). To those who honour her and whisper against her (20.9-
 10), those who have yet to learn that "what is inside you is outside of you"
 (20.20), she announces:

I am the hearing that is attainable to everything;
 I am the speech that cannot be grasped.
 I am the name of the sound and the sound of the name.
 (NHC VI.2.20.30-33).

Echoing both the Demiurge of the Gnostics and the God of the Hebrew
 scriptures, she declaims, "I am the one who alone exists, and I have no-one
 who will judge me" (21.19-20). The epilogue is a call to sobriety and self-
 deliverance:

For many are the pleasant forms which exist in numerous sins, and inconten-
 cies, and disgraceful passions and fleeting pleasures which (men) embrace until
 they become sober and go up to their resting-place. And they will find me there,
 and they will live and not die again (NHC VI.221.21-32).

In the preface to his translation, George Macrae opines that the *Thunder* is "difficult to classify."² In a postscript Douglas Parrott speaks tepidly of proposals to identify the speaker as a composite of the higher and lower Wisdom in Gnostic literature or to characterize the entire work as a riddle.³ Certainly it would be lost endeavour to comment line by line on the *Thunder* in the hope of producing a centripetal pattern from its heterogeneous contents; again it is improbable that even the procrustean methods now in use will enable scholars to unearth a "genre" of ancient literature to which it can be assigned. But the theory of genres hampers modern critics more than it guided ancient authors; what they understood was the practice of imitation, and the phenomenon that is now described as generic innovation or mixing of genres would be more aptly perceived as the simultaneous imitation of disparate antecedents. An investigation of the antecedents to the *Thunder* will help us to understand the purpose of the author, and to take his measure both as artist and as theologian. I shall now examine two attempts to define its genre, both of which shed some light upon the text though neither pretends to adequacy; I shall then turn to another group of writings which have hitherto escaped scholarly discussion, although if they do afford a model for the *Thunder*, they indicate that it is a text of the type that has not been read as the author intended until it is read aloud.

*The Thunder as Aretalogy*⁴

As we have seen, the *Thunder* is a catalogue of the deeds and attributes of an unnamed divinity, in a style that is at once sonorous and cryptic. In Egypt, the home of our one surviving manuscript, the gods had been given to such recitals for more than two millennia. Thus Ra can intone, as the author of creation:⁵

I am he who came into being in the form of the god Khepera, and I was the creator of that which came into being, that is to say I was the creator of everything which came into being

² See Robinson (1988), 295.

³ Robinson (1988), 296. Parrott may be referring to Rose Harmon Arthur, *The Wisdom Goddess. Feminine Motifs in Eight Nag Hammadi Documents* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1984), 165ff.

⁴ For further discussion of the materials treated here see H. Versnel, *Ter Unus. Isis, Dionysus, Hermes: Three Studies in Hentheism* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 42-50; G. W. Macrae, "The Ego-Proclamation in Gnostic Sources," in E. Bammel (ed.), *The Trial of Christ*. Cambridge Studies in Honour of C. D. F. Moule (London: SCM, 1970), 122-134.

⁵ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. 1 (London: Methuen, 1904), 294 and 297.

I had union with my hand, and I embraced my shadow in a love embrace; I poured seed into my own mouth, and I sent forth from myself issue in the form of the gods Shu and Tefnut.

More copious are the self-eulogies of Isis, which grew in length in the Hellenistic era as her images started to populate the Mediterranean world. The Greek term "aretalogy," denoting a recital of powers or virtues, has become customary because there are no surviving texts in the language of the Pharaohs that can vie in prolixity with the new salutations. Only the *Thunder* itself exceeds the fifty boasts of a Greek inscription from the second century A.D., discovered at Cyme in Asia Minor, though it purports to be a transcript of an older stele in Egyptian Memphis:⁶

I am Isis, the sovereign of every land ... I am the eldest daughter of Kronos. I am wife and sister of King Osiris. I am she who discovered fruit for mortals. I am mother of King Horus. I am she who rises in the Dog-Star. I am she who is called god by women. For me was the city of Boubastis built. I separated earth from heaven ... I established different languages for Greeks and barbarians ... I am mistress of the thunderbolt. I calm and I agitate the sea. I am she who is in the rays of the sun. I sit beside the sun in its course. What seems good to me will also be brought to pass. To me everything is possible ... I am mistress of rainstorms. I conquer Fate. Fate obeys me. Farewell, Egypt, who fostered me.

No deity could say more truly than Isis that "my image is great in Egypt," though we may wonder why the Gnostic speaker should add that she has no image among the barbarians. She is, after all, the goddess who releases the hero of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* from his asinine form.⁷ She is one of a number of Mediterranean deities whose mysteries were interpreted by a Gnostic group, the Naassenes, as a presage of the Gospel.⁸ The likeness between her mythological wanderings and those of the figure who is styled *Planê*, or Error, in the Valentinian *Gospel of Truth*, was pointed out in one of the earliest studies of the Nag Hammadi Codices.⁹ If that is so, she had now become for one group an object of emulation rather than of devotion.

⁶ Translation by Gail Corrington Streete, in R. Valantasis (ed.), *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 373-375.

⁷ See J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madaura: The Isis Book (Metamorphoses XI)* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

⁸ Hippolytus, *Refutation* 5.7.23. On another possible appropriation of Isis in the work of similar tendency, see R. Van den Broek, "The Shape of Edem according to Justin the Gnostic," VC 27 (1973), 38-42, with the response of M. Marcovich, "Justin's *Baruch*: A Showcase of Gnostic Syncretism," in his *Studies in Graeco-Roman religions and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 97-98.

⁹ See Jan Heldermann, "Isis as *Planê* in the *Gospel of Truth*," in Martin Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 38-42.

For Jews the competition would appear to have begun centuries before the birth of Christ, when the personified Wisdom of the Book of Proverbs declared, "I am wisdom ... I hate arrogance ... I love them that love me ... I walk in the way of justice" (Proverbs 8.11-20). In the Greek Book of Wisdom the ark which she designed (10.4) is set against the idols of the nations (13.7-8), and in the Wisdom of Jesus Sirach, purportedly written in Hebrew though now extant only in Greek, she awards herself a full aretalogy:

I have stretched out my branches as the turpentine-tree; and my branches are of honour and grace. As the vine I have brought forth a pleasant odour: and my flowers are the fruit of honour and riches. I am the mother of fair love, and of fear, and of knowledge, and of holy hope. In me is all hope of the way and of the truth: in me is all hope of life and virtue.

(Ecclesiasticus 24.22-25, revised Douai-Rheims version).

Moses and Isis meet in the *Hermetica*,¹⁰ a characteristic product of a land in which the Jews were not only more numerous than in any other part of the Roman world, but could also reckon among their ancestors the founder of Egypt's religion and her saviour in an ancient time of famine.¹¹ The author of the *Thunder*, if he lived in Egypt and in Gnostic circles, will undoubtedly have been familiar with both traditions, and comparisons will not have failed to suggest themselves to his readers. Does this mean that his mouthpiece is to be identified with Wisdom, with Isis, with a conflation of the two or perhaps with one conceived as a parody or antitype of the other? Such an interpretation would be not so much false as inadequate, since, as is generally admitted, the aretalogies of Isis and Wisdom cannot furnish any parallel to the anonymity of the speaking subject in this monody. The strangeness of this feature should not be underestimated: while the aretalogical form is attested in cultures too remote from the Gnostic milieu to have exercised any influence on the *Thunder*, its function, as in Israel or in Egypt, is always to glorify a superhuman figure, whose pre-eminence would be obscured if his name were withheld. In the *Bhagavad Gita* the litany commences when the reader has long been aware that it is Krishna who is acting as his own bard:¹²

¹⁰ On Isis see the Hermetic tract entitled *Kore Kosmou* and Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 45-52; on Genesis and the *Hermetica* see C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder, 1935) and B. A. Pearson, "Jewish Elements in *Corpus Hermeticum* I (*Poimandres*)," in R. Van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren (eds), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 336-348.

¹¹ Artapanus, *On the Jews*, in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.27; Genesis 41.25-57.

¹² *Bhagavad Gita* 10.32-34 in the translation of Juan Mascaró (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), 87. At 18 the believer is exhorted to renounce the false "I am" which conceals the true

I am the beginning and the middle and the end of all that is. Of all knowledge I am the knowledge of the Soul. Of the many paths of reason i am the one that leads to Truth. Of sounds I am the first sound, A; of compounds I am co-ordination. I am time, never-ending time. I am the Creator who sees all. I am death that carries off all things, and I am the source of things to come.

From the farther shore of the ancient world comes the song of a Welsh poet, breaking the spell that has stopped the tongues of his rivals:¹³

I have been a teacher to the whole universe; I shall be to the day of doom on the face of the earth; my body it will not be known whether flesh or fish. I have been in an easy chair above the ecliptic and this revolves between three elements; then I was for nine months in the womb of the hag Keridwen; I was originally little Gwion, and at length I am Taliesin.

It was in order to explain the anonymity of the speaker that Bentley Layton, in an article that is still of abiding value,¹⁴ proposed that the Gnostic *Thunder* is a riddle to us because it was already, in intention and form, a riddle to those for whom it was composed.

The *Thunder* as Riddle

As Layton rightly urges in "The Riddle of the Thunder," such conundrums as "I am the wife and the virgin," "I am knowledge and ignorance" and "you have wounded and you have had mercy" are not to be found in the ancient panegyrics on Isis or the sapiential literature of Israel. Some recur in a passage from another Coptic treatise *On the Origin of the World*, which is attributed to "the spiritual woman," that is, to Eve as the bodily avatar of Wisdom:¹⁵

It is I who am the *meros*¹⁶ of my mother,
And it is I who am the mother.
I am the wife and the virgin. It is I who am pregnant.

source of being — a precept which, as I hope to show, could also stand as a rubric to the *Thunder*.

¹³ The *Mabinogi* of Taliesin, translated in John Matthews (ed.), *The Bardic Source-Book* (London: Blandford Press, 1998), 90. This is not a performative utterance of the type that I shall adduce below, but an utterance accompanied by a magical performance, since Taliesin has already silenced the bards of his boastful monarch before he commences his song.

¹⁴ B. Layton, "The Riddle of the Thunder (NHC VI.2): The Function of Paradox in a Gnostic Text from Nag Hammadi," in Charles W. Hedrick and Robert Hodgson, Jr (eds), *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism and Early Christianity* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1986), 37-54.

¹⁵ *On the Origin of the World* II,5: 114.6-15, trans. Layton (1986), 46.

¹⁶ See n. 24 below.

It is I who am the midwife.
 It is I who am consolation of travail.
 It is I who am his mother.
 And it is he who is my father and my master.
 And it is he who is my power.

In a cognate text, the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, Adam declares that the Mother of all Living is his own mother, his midwife and perhaps his wife.¹⁷ Layton suggests that the bridge from such effusions to the *Thunder* is to be sought in compositions which we should now regard as trifles, though they were studiously preserved by anthologists of the Byzantine era. Eve, who is "the mother of all living" at Genesis 3.20 and the spiritual woman of the treatise *On the Origin of the World*, is also a common subject for riddles, one of which affords a close parallel to the *Thunder*, since it is formed by a violent marriage of contradictory propositions:¹⁸

My husband begets me, and my father is above nature;
 He calls me Life, and I bring him death.

We find a kindred (if far from identical) saying in the *Thunder*: "I am life and you have called me death." Granting that the *Thunder* is too copious a text to have been derived without intermediary from this gnomic paradigm, Layton suggests that it is a product of contamination, a cryptic variant on the aretology and the sapiential monologue. This solution is corroborated by a play on the name of Eve in a Mandaean text and a similar flourish of the pen in Philo.¹⁹ Epiphanius, a Christian heresiologist of the fourth century, quotes a saying from a lost *Gospel of Eve*, which conveys not so much an enigma as a mystery, the identity of the redeemer with the redeemed:²⁰

I am thou, and thou art I,
 And wherever thou art it is I who am there.
 And I am sown in all things.
 And whence thou wilt thou gatherest me;
 But when thou gatherest me, then gatherest thou thyself.

At the same time, as we have noted, Layton himself is not contending

¹⁷ *Hypostasis of the Archons* II,4: 89.11-17, cited by Layton (1986), 47.

¹⁸ My rendering of *Palatine Anthology* 7.44, cited by Layton (1986), 50.

¹⁹ Philo, *Who is the heir of Divine Things* 11.52 remarks that Adam gave the name "Life" to his own death; on this and the *Ginza* (to which he alludes with reserve) see Layton (1986), 50-51.

²⁰ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26.3.1, trans. Layton (1986), 49.

that the term "riddle" will suffice to define the character of the whole document, and we may add that he has neglected numerous elements in the text which, even if read as ciphers, surely point to someone other than Eve.

Consider, for example, the most striking collision of predicates: "It is my husband who has begotten me: It is I who am the mother of my Father and the sister of my husband." The truncated form of this in *On the Origin of the World* is "It is I who am his mother, and it is he who is my father and my master." Neither of these variants shares even one conceit with the Byzantine riddle cited above, in which Eve affirms that she has two fathers because she was formed by the hand of God from Adam's rib, and that, although she was called "the mother of all living" by her consort, she brought him death by tempting him to eat the forbidden fruit. So much is clear to every reader of Genesis 3, but where do we hear in the story that Eve was the mother of her father or the offspring of her husband? Perhaps among the polymorphic divinities of Egypt one could be found who was simultaneously the mother of her father, the child and sister of her husband; in Christian circles, however, — and the *Thunder*, if not composed, has been preserved in Christian circles — these predicates would be seen to meet in a woman who was not only (as the *Thunder* proclaims elsewhere) both mother and maiden, but the Virgin Mother of God. If we set aside distinctions within the Trinity, she is therefore the parent of the one who created her, and likewise of the one who overshadowed her to plant the seed that became the firstfruits of redemption (Luke 1.35). Mary is the sister of God because she is, as a human being, the daughter of the God who not only espoused her, but became his own son in her womb. This solution does not forbid us to seek an Egyptian prototype for the *Thunder*, for it has long been known that "incidents of the wanderings of the Virgin with the Child in Egypt as recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels reflect scenes in the life of Isis."²¹ If Mary was Theotokos, or mother of God, in Egypt, so was Isis, and the likeness between her ceremonies and those of the Church was noted with disquiet by ecclesiastical writers of the fourth century.²² Nor is Mary as a forced alternative to Eve, with whom she already forms a diptych in the Book of Revelation,²³ while the notion of Mary as the second Eve was a motif in Gnostic thought before Irenaeus made it the keystone of his argument that the scriptures deal in history, not in myth (*Against Heresies* 5.19-21).

The substitution of Mary for Eve will not, however, complete the inter-

²¹ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. 1 (London: Methuen, 1904), 290.

²² See Epiphanius, *Panarion* 51.12, with A. D. Nock, "A Vision of Mandulis Aion," *Harvard Theological Review* 27 (1934), 90-92.

²³ See Revelation 12.1-9.

pretation of the *Thunder*. Mary has no reason to boast that her image is greater in Egypt than elsewhere, and it was never the custom of those who revered her to style themselves her members, as they might have styled themselves members of the Church, of Christ or (if they showed a Gnostic bent) of Wisdom.²⁴ The exhortation to “seek me” in the proem is also characteristic of Wisdom in the scriptures, and we can scarcely deny this name to one who avers that she is “the wisdom of Greeks and the knowledge of barbarians.” Ought we to posit, not a single speaker but an ensemble of four harmonize, yet not identical, voices?

Perusal of the text will quickly reveal that even this quartet cannot sustain the whole score. It is hard to fit the persona of Isis, Mary, Wisdom or Eve to such aphorisms as “I am justice and acquittal” or “I am law and you have called me lawlessness.”²⁵ Such lines as “I am the whore and the virgin” or “Greeks, why do you hate me? Because I am a barbarian among barbarians” would seem to pertain most naturally to the biblical figure of Israel.²⁶ *Allogenes* the “Stranger,” an occasional protagonist of Sethian texts, is the one who might be expected to declare “I am an alien and a citizen”; all analogues to the dictum “I am the sound of the name and the name of the sound” identify Jesus, or the Son, as the name by which the Father has been made known to his elect.²⁷ References to the sending of angels after affliction at the hands of men are reminiscent of the gospels. In short, the text has proved to be a gallimaufry of all the traditions that modern scholarship is wont to describe as “Gnostic.”

Could this have been the original design of the text, or should we imagine a cumulative history of redaction? Two considerations speak against the second inference: the syncretistic tendency of Gnostic thought, and the self-referential character of this text. The first is universally acknowledged, as Gnostic writings never hide their debts to a multitude of sources, literary and mythological. A palmary instance is the Naassene Sermon, the work of one of the earliest groups to apply the term “Gnostic” to itself, in the proem

²⁴ Romans 12.5; 1 Corinthians 12.12; Plotinus, *Enneads* 2.9.10.

²⁵ Alluding perhaps to the fact that Gentiles, though without the Law (Galatians 2.15) are none the less a law unto themselves (Romans 2.15); or else to the law of the spirit (Romans 8.1), which frees believers from the law of works.

²⁶ On God’s choice of the barbarians as stewards of revelation see Justin, *First Apology* 5, with Fabien Jourdain, *Orphée et les chrétiens* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2011), 245-251.

²⁷ See Acts 4.12; Raoul Mortley, “‘The Name of the Father is the Son’ (*Gospel of Truth* 28),” in R. T. Wallis and J. Bregmann (eds), *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism* (Albany: SUNY, 1992), 239-252; Larry Hurtado, “Jesus as God’s Name and as God’s Embodied name in Justin Martyr” in Sara Parvis and Paul Foster (eds), *Justin Martyr and his Worlds* (Minneapolis: Fortress press, 2007), 128-137.

to which divinities from many nations coalesce as a single entity, under logically inconsistent designations:²⁸

Whether thou art the blessed stock of Cronus or of Zeus, or of Rhea, all hail, Attis, sad hearing for Rhea. Thee the Assyrians call the thrice-beloved Adonis, the whole of Egypt Osiris, Greek wisdom the celestial horn of the moon, the Samothracians venerable Adam, the Haemonians Corybas and the Phrygians sometimes Papas, sometimes again a corpse or a god or the fruitless or goatherd or harvested green ear, or the fruitful one whom the almond bore, man of the panpipes. (Hippolytus, *Refutation of all Heresies* 5.8).

If the protagonist of the Gnostic myth can be both corpse and god, both seminal and seedless, it is not impossible for the diverse voices of the thunder to constitute one *persona*. It is, however, the second consideration noted above, the self-referentiality of the text, that reveals the origin of this unity. It is not an objective unity, independent of the speaker, but becomes a datum, a thing to be spoken of, only in the speaking of it — only in the successive appropriation of each new utterance by the “I.” There is no imposture: the devotee and the object of devotion are often indistinguishable in Gnostic thought, as Layton’s excerpt from the *Gospel of Eve* reminds us. But at the same time, it is also a common principle that the identity of the worshipper and the worshipped can be perfectly realised only through liturgical recitation. The *Thunder* is a sustained and polymorphic example of such a recitation, in which the speaker becomes identical in turn with each of his characters, in order that they may become one in him.

These conjectures can be substantiated, as I shall argue in the next section of this paper, if the *Thunder* is compared with a copious body of Egyptian writings, all designed for posthumous recitation in the hope that the one who recites them will become equal, at least in semblance, to the deities whose names and characters he has assumed. This necropolitan literature is coercive and magical in tenor, rather than, as the *Thunder* appears to be, speculative and mystical; but if, as Layton observes, it is characteristic of Gnostic thinkers to breathe a new spirit into the scribal artefacts that they have inherited, it will follow that, just as the *Thunder* may be understood as a riddling sublimation of the riddle, so it may also be construed as a spell that unveils the philosophy behind all spells.²⁹

²⁸ Translated, though without all of the editor’s emendations, from the edition of M. Marcovich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986), 167.

²⁹ On the association of riddles with magic see, e.g., Elaine Tuttle Hansen, *The Solomon Complex* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 144-147.

From Coffin Texts to Magical Papyri

The Pyramid Texts, according to R. O. Faulkner, were inscribed on pyramids of the third millennium B.C., and “constitute the oldest corpus of Egyptian religious and funerary literature now extant.”³⁰ The majority of these documents are spells to be recited by the deceased in his encounters with malign or retributive spirits who bar his way to the blessed abodes. They are not descriptive but performative texts, in which the speaker is represented not as he is but as he must appear to be if he is to conquer in a realm where “reputation of power is power.” Whereas an aretalogy acknowledges the attributes which belong to a god by nature whether or not we are mindful of them, these monologues for the dead throw verisimilitude to the winds, proleptically bestowing upon the dead man the names and attributes of deities in order that he may take his place among them. The typical specimen is a series of indicative statements, which cannot be said to be true already at the time of utterance, since it is only the utterance, in the appointed circumstances, that can make them true:

I am he who grasps the White Crown, Master of the curl of the Green Crown, I am the uraeus which went forth from Seth, which moves incessantly. Take me and nourish me. I am he who takes care of (?) the Red One, which came out of ... I am the Eye of Horus, which was not chewed or spat out, and I am not chewed or spat out. (Utterance 570.1459-1460).

It seems that the catalogue of divine appellatives may be prolonged at will:

I am a she-jackal, I am jackal-like; I am Hapy; I am Duanamutef; I am Imsety; I am Kebhsenuf; I am *Dwn-nwy*; I am these great gods who preside over the lake; I am a living soul with bearded (?) face, who endowed his head with divinity ... My lips are the two Enneads; I am one who is loosed; I am one who ought to be loosed, and I am loosed from all things evil. On men and gods, your arms under me! Lift me up, raise me to the sky, just as the arms of Shu are under the sky when he raises it. (Utterance 506, 1097-1098 and 1100-1101).

The closing exhortations make it clear that the purpose of this royal bombast is not simply to instruct or impress the king's subjects, but to propel him into the heavens. Each new cognomen extends the wings that will bear the aspirant to his throne — a throne that, in the most grandiloquent texts, surpasses in altitude that of every god but the father of all. “My seat

³⁰ R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts Translated into English* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), v.

is with you, O Re, and I will not give it to anyone else (Utterance 302.461). According to one text, Re himself must yield to the newcomer:

I am Satis, who takes possession of the Two Lands, the Burning One who receives her two shores; I have gone up to the sky and found Re standing that I might meet him; I will seat myself beside him, and Re will permit that I put myself on the ground, for he knows that I am greater than he.
(Utterance 439.812-813).

We cannot be sure that the Hebrew prophets were guilty of any hyperbole when they put into the mouths of foreign kings such boasts as "I am God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas" (Ezekiel 28.2), or "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most high" (Isaiah 14.14). Even if the kings of Tyre and Babylon did not in fact imitate the prolixity of their Egyptian rival, it was reasonable for an Israelite to imagine that their claims to equality might be asserted in equally impious terms. Against their delusions book after book of the canon repeats that God is one: "I am the Lord ... thou shalt have no other gods before me" (Exodus 20.2-3); "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one" (Deuteronomy 6.4); "I am the Lord; that is my name; and my glory will I not give unto another" (Isaiah 42.8); "I am the Lord, and there is none beside me" (Isaiah 45.10); "I am God, and there is none else; I am God, and there is none like me" (Isaiah 46.9); "I am the first, and also the last" (Isaiah 48.12).

To mock the falsity of the tyrant's pretensions is, however, to misconstrue them. They do not owe their efficacy to any "correspondence with the facts"; it is necessary only that they be enunciated with sufficient unction to daunt the powers who stand in the way of the ascending monarch. This is evident from a comparison with other texts, not designed for kings, but inscribed on the coffins of affluent Egyptians,³¹ whose felicity after death is assumed to depend on the rehearsal of an even more exorbitant list of titles:

I am the soul of Shu the self-created god, I have come into being from the flesh of the self-created god. I am the soul of Shu, the god invisible of shape, I have come into being from the flesh of the self-created god, I am merged in the god, I have become he. I am he who calmed the sky for himself, I am he who reduced the Two Lands to order for himself, I am stronger and more raging than all the Enneads. I am he who foretells him when he ascends the horizon, I am he who puts the fear of him into whoever would search out his name. I am he who is among the Chaos-gods and who hears the words of the Chaos-gods: I am he who dispatches the word of the Self-created to the multitudes. I am he who captains the Bark and its crew, (Coffin Texts, Spell 75.314-322).

³¹ All translations of the coffin texts are taken from R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 3 vols (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1973).

The *Book of the Dead*, a work of perennial currency up to the ages of Greek and Roman hegemony, intimates that even the common dead can obtain the form of their choice in the afterlife by a rehearsal of fanciful triumphs:³²

I have risen, I have risen like the mighty hawk [of gold[that comes forth from its egg; I fly and I alight like a hawk which hath a back four cubits wide .. I have taken my seat among those first-born gods of Nut. I am stablished, and the divine Sekhet-hetep is before me. I have eaten therein, I have become a spirit therein. (*Book of the Dead*, chapter LXXVII).

In Greek and Latin literature, self-eulogy on the eve of death is commoner than posthumous vindication. "I have lived," declares Dido, "I have built my city, avenged my spouse, and now a great image of me will go below" (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.653-7 paraphrased); Paul, foreseeing his death at some distance, says to the elders of Ephesus, "I am clear of all men's blood, for I have not failed to declare unto you the whole counsel of God" (Acts 20.26-27). Both speakers rely on the usual shifts of eloquence, making no attempt to endow their words with a magical efficacy by the multiplication of fictitious titles. In papyri dating from the same era as the codex which contains the "Thunder," however, there is evidence that such litanies were still credited with the power to daunt supernatural agents, and not only in the dubious world to come. This was an age in which a man pursuing an affair of the heart was not ashamed to impersonate a whole pantheon:³³

I am he of Abydos, in the completion of birth, in her name of Isis, the bringer of flame, she of the seat of mercy of the Agathodaimon. I am this figure of the sun, the son of TAMESRO is my name. I am this figure of the strong general, this sword, this great overthrower. The great flame is my name. I am this figure of the Drowned one, who testifies in writing, who rests on board here under the great offering table of Abydos, to whose name of isis the blood of Osiris bore witness when it was put into this cup ... The love which Isis felt for Horus the Bedehite, let NN feel it for NN. (*Papyri Demoticae Magicae* xiv.436-447).

The "ubiquity" of such prayers could be illustrated at length.³⁴ All are eclipsed, however, by the grandiloquence of a Greek prayer to summon

³² Translation by E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London: Kegan Paul, 1923), 248-249.

³³ Trans. Janet H. Johnson in H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 220-221.

³⁴ Versnel (n. 4 above), 143 n.10. Cf. *Papyri* xiv 319-323, 570-571 etc.

“the Headless One,” in which the sorcerer first identifies himself with Moses and then lays claim to a string of formidable powers:³⁵

I am the headless *daimon* with my sight in my feet; I am the mighty one [who possesses] the immortal fire; I am the truth who hates the fact that unjust deeds are done in the world; I am the one who makes the lightning flash and the thunder roll; I am the one whose sweat falls upon the earth as rain so that it can inseminate it; I am the one whose mouth burns completely; I am the one who begets and destroys; I am the Favour of the Aion; my name is a heart encircled by a serpent: come forth and follow. (*Papyri Graecae Magicae* v. 145-156).

The majority of the texts adduced here use the names of deities as camouflage; the last, however, is written for an age when Greek was the dominant tongue of the eastern Mediterranean and magic, though a cosmopolitan discipline, was also a surreptitious one, pursued without the assistance of any deity who boast a public temple. Cryptic circumlocutions thus supplant the divine appellatives, and the result cannot fail to remind us of the Thunder — another Egyptian relic, found in the company of documents for which a Greek original may be confidently surmised.

Christian Magic?

We have seen, then, that in Egypt, under the Greeks as under the Pharaohs, it was widely held that superhuman powers could be acquired by the reiteration of formulae which commenced with the words “I am.” None of the texts that we have surveyed so far, however, is of Christian origin, whereas the *Thunder* is preserved in a collection of texts whose authors, where they can still be identified, were for the most part professing Christians. Magic is widely attested among those groups that were more remote from the orthodoxy defined by the episcopate of the early Christian era. Plotinus, in his treatise against the Gnostics, mocks their predilection for hissings and incantations (*Enneads* 2.9.13). A number of texts from Nag Hammadi, bearing titles of works that were cited by his Gnostics, teem with strings of meaningless vowels, resembling those that punctuate the magical papyri.³⁶ The *Thunder* is not a Sethian text, but, as we have seen, its nearest analogue is a passage in *The Origin of the World*, a tract which may be assigned with confidence to that milieu. In any case, when we contemplate the numerological juggling of the Peratae and the reveries of Mark the

³⁵ Trans. David Aune in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 103.

³⁶ See S. Gersh, *From Iamblichus to Eriugena* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 296-302.

Mage on the letters of the alphabet,³⁷ it will be clear that in this period there were as many species of magic as of heresy.

At the same time, we ought not to exaggerate the ease with which the gospel and magic could be reconciled. Every orthodox churchman knew that the power of the spirit was not to be purchased by a Simon Magus, or counterfeited by such men as Jannes and Jambres, the Egyptians who had tried in vain to reproduce by sorcery the miracles that Moses had performed in the name of God.³⁸ Jesus was accused of serving Beelzebub long before accomplished scholars began to write books entitled *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* or *Jesus the Magician*.³⁹ His apologists in antiquity replied that such judgments overlook everything that is salient in his ministry — his compassion, his proficiency as an exorcist, his frequent performance by a single word of feats that others could effect only by artifice and incantation. Nevertheless, in all these vindications the proof of his innocence is not that he refrains from working miracles, but that he works them with an ease that cannot be matched by any pagan thaumaturge.

In fact it could be maintained that in the texts which became canonical, the repeated use of the words “I am” by Christ renders magic obsolete by disarming the powers which sorcery must cajole or intimidate by different means. There are a dozen sentences in the Fourth Gospel which contain the words *ego eimi*. In four, the verb stands without a complement,⁴⁰ while in the other eight⁴¹ a symbolic predicate illustrates Christ’s character and the purpose of his mission. In three of these sayings the predicate is a gloss on an antecedent or impending miracle: it is after feeding the multitude that Christ says “I am the bread of life” (6.49; cf. 6.51), he proclaims himself the light of the world before opening the eyes of a man born blind (8.12; 9.5), and his assurance to Martha, “I am the resurrection and the life” (11.25) intimates that he has the power to raise Lazarus from the tomb. In the Gospel of Mark Christ twice says *ego eimi*, once to confirm that he had the godlike power to walk on water, and the second time (on the contrary) to bring about his own death at the hands of those who deny that he is the son of God.⁴² Nowhere in Mark or John do the words *ego eimi* occur more than

³⁷ Hippolytus, *Refutation* 5.13-17 and 6.39-42; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.13 and 1.21.1-4; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 34; Niclas Förster, *Marcus Magus: Kult, Lehre und Gemeindeleben einer valentinianischen Gnostikergruppe* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1999).

³⁸ See 2 Timothy 3.8 with Numenius, Fr. 10 a Des Places (Origen, *Against Celsus* 4.51).

³⁹ Respectively by R. F. C. Hull (London: SCM, 1974) and Morton Smith (New York: Harper and Row, 1978).

⁴⁰ John 4.26; 8.24; 8.58; 18.6 and 8.

⁴¹ In addition to the verses cited here see 10.1; 10.9; 10.36; 14.6; 15.1. Cf. D. M. Ball, *I am' in John's Gospel* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1996).

⁴² Mark 6.50 and 14.62.

once in a single utterance, and where there is a miracle it is accomplished without the labour and prolixity that were indispensable to the magician. It can be argued that in all the gospels he is at once a second Moses and a greater than Moses,⁴³ surpassing the deeds by which that prophet showed himself superior to the Egyptians. Where Moses used a rod, Christ has the finger of God at his service (Luke 11.20); where Moses worsted the acolytes of Satan, he has Satan himself for an adversary.⁴⁴ Accordingly, where Moses was commissioned by the God who revealed his name from the burning bush, Christ takes that name for his own: "before Abraham was, I AM" (John 8.58; cf. Exodus 3.14).

In an apocryphal text, the *Acts of John*, Jesus is a protean figure, a youth to in one apparition and an old man in another.⁴⁵ He is to his votaries, therefore, what Attis and Isis are to theirs, as scholars have observed.⁴⁶ The hymn by which he binds his disciples to him ends as a fugue on sayings attributed to him in the Fourth Gospel; these are preceded, however, by a series of antinomies more reminiscent of the *Thunder* than of any extant dedication to gods or goddesses of the ancient world:⁴⁷

"I will flee and I will stay." "Amen."
 "I will adorn and I will be adorned." "Amen."
 "I will be united, and I will unite." "Amen."
 "I have no house, and I have houses." "Amen."
 "I have no place, and I have places." "Amen."
 "I have no temple, and I have temples." "Amen."
 "I am a lamp to you who see me." "Amen."
 "I am a mirror to you who perceive." "Amen."
 "I am a door to you who knock on me." "Amen."
 "I am a way to you, wayfarer." "Amen."

In this scene a succession of "I am" sayings mirrors the changes wrought in the neophyte by the polymorphic and polyonymous Christ who has first

⁴³ See John 3.14, 5.45, 6.31. Cf. W. Meeks, *The Prophet King. Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

⁴⁴ Matthew 4.1ff, Luke 4.2ff; Mark 3.27 etc.

⁴⁵ *Acts of John* 89 and 92. See further *Acts of Peter* 20-21, *Acts of Thomas* 48 and Paul Foster, "Polymorphic Christology: its Origins and Development in Early Christianity," *JTS* 58 (2007), 66-99.

⁴⁶ See now I. Czachesz, "The Gospel of the Acts of John and the Fourth Gospel," in T. Rasimus (ed.), *The Legacy of John* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 60-63.

⁴⁷ *Acts of John* 94, trans. J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 319. See further W. C. Van Unnik, "A Note on the Hymn of John in the Acts of John," *VC* 18 (1964), 1-5.

claim on the words "I am";⁴⁸ as he intones these lines to the accompaniment of a dance, the apostle is not only singing of his power but expects his power to increase by song.

Mystagogy is not the same thing as magic: its purpose is not to control external powers, but to transform the self or soul of the initiate, or rather to restore it to its true form, which is now concealed from it by the corruption of the body and the obtrusion of the world on the carnal senses. This restoration is possible only because in every adept there is something higher than anything that he knows to be part or property of himself, which at the same time is more truly his own self and the self of all because it is free of all delusion and vicissitude, more permanent than the "I" which is one thing today and another tomorrow. We have seen that the Naassene Sermon declares the gods of all nations to be identical: we have also seen that Adam is the name of this being among the Samothracians. There can be no doubt of the reading, since at *Refutation* 5.7.2, 5.7.6, 5.7.30 and 5.7.35 Adam takes his place in a litany that includes Osiris and Attis (5.7.15, 5.7.23). When it declares that Adam is the inner man in each of us, the stone whom the builders rejected, and the one of whom it is said "His generation who shall expound?,"⁴⁹ the Sermon plainly implies that he in Christ are one — as Paul would say, that Christ is the second and unfallen Adam to whom the fallen being in each of us must be conformed by the work of redemption. This is the one who, under the name of Jesus, says at refutation 5.8.20, "I am the door" (cf. John 10.7); another Johannine saying⁵⁰ is conflated with Exodus 3.14 to characterize the action of the spirit which engenders all things by becoming each and retaining the form of none:

Of the essence of Spirit, therefore, which is the cause of all things that come into being, they say that it is none of these, but engenders and creates all that comes into being, expressing it thus: "I become all things and am what I am."

(*Refutation* 5.6.25, p. 149 Marcovich).

The Sermon goes on to teach that the Samothracian mysteries of Adam are images of the primal man, the Archanthropos, who is the spiritual progeny from above is consubstantial with all humanity (5.8.10). To rediscover this primordial Adam is to be fashioned anew by the Christ who is in all (5.7.33).

⁴⁸ For parallels to the "I am" sayings in the song see John 9.5, 2 Corinthians 3.18; John 10.7-9; John 14.6.

⁴⁹ *Refutation* 5.7.35, citing Psalm 117.22 (cf. Matthew 21.42; Mark 12.10 etc.); *Refutation* 5.7.2, citing Isaiah 53.8.

⁵⁰ John 3.8, cited by Marcovich.

Conclusion

Isis is incontrovertibly present in the *Thunder* and it can hardly be denied that her aretalogies furnished the author with a model. It would be equally difficult to find a better term than “riddle” for the cryptic sayings which punctuate the monologue, though it could not be maintained (and is not maintained by anyone) that the entire text is a riddle which has only one solution. I have argued here that a full account of its ancestry will include specimens of native Egyptian literature and writings that, for all their idiosyncrasies, are manifestly Christian. The Coffin Texts and magical papyri supply a formal prototype, the *Acts of John* a liturgical analogue, the Naassene Sermon a theosophic charter. The *Thunder* differs from the Naassene Sermon in being, as I observed above, a performative rather than an indicative text: the identity of Eve, Sophia, Mary, Isis and Israel may not already be a datum for the speaker, but becomes a truth as the speaker is identified in turn with each of the figures whose elusive, manifold and at times bipolar attributes he has made his own.⁵¹

SUMMARY

It is argued here that the *Thunder, Perfect Mind* is best conceived, not as an Isis-aretalogy or as a riddle, but as a performative text in which the speaker assumes a series of personae. In contrast to the Coffin texts and magical papyri, where the performance is merely bombastic, the litany of the *Thunder* is grounded in the metaphysical premises of the Naassene sermon and other Christian texts, according to which the pneumatic believer is, and yet is still to become, identical with Christ in his polymorphic unity.

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⁵¹ I am grateful to Ellen Hausner for help with the preparation of this paper.

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(Pseudo) Cyril's interpretation of Proverbs 9:1 in the *Confessio Patrum* and its influence on traditional Ethiopian hermeneutics

The topic that will be discussed in this paper, namely, the interpretation of Pro 9:1 in a treatise that the إعتراف الآباء (*I'tirāf al-Ābā*), *Confessio Patrum* (henceforth *CP*) ascribes to Cyril of Alexandria († 444) is a specimen aimed at presenting its role in traditional Ethiopian exegesis and thereby highlighting the complexity of the *CP*.¹ After having stumbled on the quotation in various hermeneutical contexts, I had to check whether the purported Cyrillian piece of exegesis elaborated on Pro 9:1 came from the authentic works of the well known Alexandrian patriarch. The discovery that the comment in the *CP* does not appear in any of the genuine productions of Cyril of Alexandria, leads to a wider conclusion. Whenever the users of the *CP* and of its Gə'əz version, the *Haymanotä Abäw* "Faith of the Fathers" (henceforth *HA*),² quote an author under whose name a work is presented, it is absolutely necessary to verify whether there is an original text corresponding to it.

¹ Sign and abbreviations:

[] = my additions to the translated texts.

AM = 'Amätä Məhrät (Gə'əz calendar = 7/8 years behind the Gregorian calendar).

EMML = *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Abeba and for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, HMML*.

As a matter of fact, this call for attention on the complexity of the *CP* is not a new one. Georg Graf has carried out an extensive research on the subject, based upon manuscript attestation. The following are his more prominent works: "Unechte Zeugnisse römischer Päpste für den Monophysitismus in Arabischen *Bekenntnis der Väter*," *Römische Quartalschrift* 36 (1929), pp. 197-233; "Zwei dogmatische Florilegien der Kopten, B. Das Bekenntnis der Väter," *OCP* 3 (1937), pp. 345-402; *GCAL* II, pp. 321-323.

² In the appendix to the contribution of J. L. Bandrès, "La doctrine christologique de l'Église orthodoxe Tawāhedo d'Éthiopie. La situation actuelle," *Irén* 77 (2004), pp. 64-66, after a few words on the vicissitudes of *CP*'s transmission from Greek to Coptic, then from Coptic to Arabic and finally from Arabic to Gə'əz, three texts have been briefly analyzed to try to address the issue of their *Vorlage*. Cf. also, A. Wion – E. Fritsch, "Haymanotä abäw," *EAE* (= S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden 2003-), II, pp. 1073-1075.

The Confessio Patrum

The *CP* is an anthology whose period of compilation does not go beyond the eleventh century, a *terminus ad quem* related to the last writer in the *CP*, the patriarch Christodulos († 1077). The anthology consists of texts ascribed to fifty three authors. It starts off with the *Mystagogy*, according to the Copts, penned by the eleven apostles together with St. Paul. The part following the *Mystagogy* contains material ranging from early Christian writers, to Eastern and Western Church Fathers, including Irenaeus of Lyon³ (130-202), spurious bishops of Rome,⁴ such as Felix, Julius, Innocentius *alias* Hyppolitus, Silvester and Vitalis. Pride of place though is given to the Synodical letters of the Coptic Patriarchs and to the writings of high profile non-Egyptian Syrian churchmen such as Severus of Antioch (born in Sozopoli, Pisidia in 465, and died in Egypt in 538).⁵ The *CP* ends with the patriarch Christodulos († 1077) and with two brief texts of Abū Rā'īṭah al-Takrītī (9th cent.) and Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī (born in 893): both are Syrian, Jacobite authors.⁶ The driving idea of the *CP*, a collection of texts interested chiefly in the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, is a strenuous defense of the "one nature" of Christ after the Incarnation, the bone of contention that in Council of Chalcedon (451) provoked a lasting rift between the Alexandrian See and the rest of the Christian world. After the seminal works of G. Graf, the interest on the origin and transmission of the *CP* has not made meaningful advances. There is no critical edition of the text nor a translation into any European language as yet. There is an Arabic edition made from a late (ca. 1700/1800) manuscript with the following title: اغتراف الآباء [مِنْ مَخْطُوطَات دَيْرِ الْمُحَرِّقِ الْعَامِرِ]. اعْدَاد رَاهِبٍ مِنْ دَيْرِ الْمُحَرِّقِ، تَقْدِيمُ الْأَنْبَا سَاوِيرِسْ أَسْقِفَ رَيْتِسْ دَيْرِ الْعَذْرَاءِ بِالْمُحَرِّقِ، الْقَاهِرَةِ، ٢٠٠٢.

³ In the Arabic text Irenaeus is introduced as bishop of عدن = 'Adan, in Gə'əz as bishop of = Edom.

⁴ The issue was dealt with by G. Graf, "Unechte Zeugnisse," pp. 197-233. Graf based his research on H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, Tübingen 1904. The misreading by an Arab compiler of the Greek μετ' ὀλίγον "after a little," a clause that introduces new passages, as the name of bishop of Rome "Miṭūligun" is one of the more puzzling phenomena. In the *HA*, Mäṭoligon is introduced as "archbishop of Rome" only in the index (an addition by the editor), whereas the text ascribed to him begins straightforward: "Mäṭoligon said ...," p. 147. The *incipit* does not say anything about his identity.

⁵ Severus of Antioch is held in high esteem in the Coptic Church, so much so that in the Missal he is constantly named immediately after the Evangelist Mark, before Athanasius "the Apostolic," cf. A. Nicolotti (curatore), *Il Santo Messale. La Liturgia di San Basilio*, Roma 2002, pp. 76.151.

⁶ Cf. G. Graf, *GCAL II*, pp. 222-226; Gawdat Gabra (with the contributions by Birger A. Pearson, Mark N. Swanson, and Youhanna Nessim Youssef), *Historical Dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Lanham – Toronto – Plymouth 2008, p. 66.

[*Confession of the Fathers [from the manuscripts of the populated monastery of al-Muḥarraq] edited by a monk of the monastery of al-Muḥarraq, presentation by Anba Severus, bishop and superior of the monastery of the Virgin in al-Muḥarraq*], Cairo 2002.

It is noteworthy that the work has not been included in the *Coptic Encyclopedia*. The *CP* does not enjoy the fame and authority neither in the Coptic Orthodox Church nor in the other Oriental Orthodox Churches, with the notable exception of the Orthodox Churches of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The Haymanotä Abäw

In Ethiopia, the *HA* is part of the *Mäṣahəftä Liqawənt* "Books of the Scholars," a wide and variegated collection of patristic and post-patristic writings, which is one of the four main branches of Ethiopian traditional training. The Gə'əz version of the Arabic *CP* was probably rendered in the 16th century but it cannot be excluded that it was known even before. Isenberg indicated that the first translation into Gə'əz was carried out during the tenure of Emperor Ləbnä Dəngəl (1500-1533), by the son of Ras 'Amdu, Mäba'a Šə'yon.⁷ It is well attested though that the work enjoyed wide circulation during the period of the failed Catholic mission to "evangelize" Christian Ethiopia (1555-1634) and that in practice it pushed aside the much older patristic text *par excellence* of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the *Qerəlos*.⁸ Roman Catholic missionaries were very much

⁷ "Mabā Ts'ion (Offering of Zion), son of Ras Amdu, during the reign of Nabla Dengel (Claudius) is said to have translated (or compiled?) the *Haïmanot Ābao*, into Ethiopic. That work is the Abyssinians' standard work of doctrine: it is composed of extracts from the Sacred Scriptures, and especially from Synods, Councils, and numerous writings of the Fathers," C. W. Isenberg, *Dictionary of the Amharic language. In two parts. Amharic and English and English and Amharic*, London 1841, p. 198. There has been no way to prove Isenberg's statement, as it has so far never been confirmed by any known manuscript. Graf too is of the same opinion as far as the translator is concerned. Cf. G. Graf, "Zwei dogmatische Florilegien," p. 356. In a footnote (n. 3) to the affirmation, Graf refers to Zotenberg's *Catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts in the National Library of Paris*, p. 107, and to Guidi's, *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Roma 1932, p. 72. The oft rehearsed information remains to date unconfirmed.

⁸ The *Qerəlos*, a compendium of patristic and theological works gathers together writings which were not all penned by Cyril of Alexandria. It includes: a) *Ḥstəgəbu'ə* (Compilation) in which we find the *De Recta Fide* and the *Prosphonicus ad Reginas*; b) *Pəlladyos* or *gəṣṣawe dərsan*, that is, *Quod Christus sit unus*; c) *Täräfä Qerəlos* ("The Rest of Cyril") is a collection of homilies and extracts, 8 by Cyril himself, 14 by other writers, 1 epistle of the Council of Ephesus and one passage of the Council of Nicaea. It is commonly assumed that the *Qerəlos* was translated into Gə'əz during the so called Axumite period (4th-7th cent.). The issue of the date was discussed by M. B. Weischer, "Historical and philological problems of the Axumitic literature (especially in the *Qerəlos*)," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 9 (1971), p. 89. Weischer concedes that "there are not historical arguments for the dating of Cyril's biography, we

aware of its existence and importance and tried to use it to tackle Ethiopian Christians “in their own theological ground,” albeit in the way it suited their doctrines.⁹ In fact the *HA* has been revised several times due to the theological conflicts with Catholic missionaries.¹⁰ One of the missionaries, father Antonio Fernandes (b. 1567, Lisboa, d. November 1942, Goa)¹¹ wanted to introduce in the *HA* the correspondence between Pope Leo (papacy: 440-461) and Flavian, archbishop of Constantinople (446-449). There have been repeated attempts to bring in changes to it. Father Antonio Fernandes said that he had made some corrections in it between 1622 and 1624, erasing the “blasphemies” against Pope Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. He stated his intention in a letter to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus in which he says:

Acabei de emendar o livro chamado Haimanot Abau, idest fides Patrum, que tem entre elles a mor autoridade depois da Sagrada Escritura. O Emperador o fez treladar e agora o tresladam outros senhores da corte: nele meti a carta de s. Leam a s. Flaviano, e se espantam todos de la falar do santo e o veneram agora muito mais quanto primeiro era delles afrontado. Procurarei de estinguir os Haimanot Abau, que nam estam emendados pera que se estinguam seus erros, e se o Senhor me der vida, emendarei todos os mais livros que estam cheos de seus erros e de outros muitos.¹²

I have finished emending the book called *HA*, that is, Faith of the Fathers, which is among them, which has more authority after Sacred Scripture. The Emperor has made circulate the book and now there are other lords of the court who are spreading it: in putting the letter of Saint Leo to Saint Flavian, all are frightened to talk about the saint and now they venerate him more than before it was faced by them. I will seek to do away with the [copies of the] *HA*

could offer philological and terminological arguments,” p. 88. For the whole discussion of the date, cf. pp. 89-93.

⁹ The relevance of the *HA* in the theological discussions emerges forcefully in the recently re-edited work of the most outstanding missionary, Pedro Páez: I. Boavida; H. Pennec and M.J. Ramos (edd.), C.J. Tribe (trans.), *Pedro Páez's History of Ethiopia, 1622*, I-II, Hakluyt Society, London 2011.

¹⁰ E. Cerulli, “I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Nazionale di Atene,” *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 2 (1942), pp. 181-190; Idem, *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Firenze 1968, pp. 140-141.

¹¹ A. Fernandez was a missionary in Ethiopia from 1622 and expelled in 1634. He was born in Lisboa in 1567, died in Goa in November 1942. For a summary on his life, cf. J. Vaz De Carvalho, “Fernandes António,” in C.E. O'Neill; Joaquín María Domínguez (Directores), *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático*, II, Roma – Madrid 2001, p. 1396. I. Boavida, “Fernandes António,” *EAE* II, p. 530.

¹² “P. Antonius Fernandez ad Praepositum Generalem S.I. 18 febr. 1624,” C. Beccari (ed.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. XII, *Relationes et Epistolae Variorum*, Pars Prima – Liber III, Romae 1912, p. 41.

In 1624 he finished a correction of the *HA*, ordered by Emperor Susānyos (1607-1632) to replace the Orthodox version, as he declares: “I removed many heresies, errors, blasphemies against Leo, the Council of Chalcedon, and I put the Symbol of St. Athanasius, and the Epistle of Saint Leo to the Council of Ephesus.”¹³

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

¹⁵ The incident is narrated by Abba Täklä-Haymanot (traduzione italiana dal francese di Celestino di Desio), *Episodi della vita Apostolica di Abuna Jacob ossia il venerabile Padre Giustino De Jacobis raccontati da un Testimonio Abba Teclè Haimanot, Prete cattolico abissino. Confessore della fede*, Tipografia Francescana, Asmara 1915, p. 70. The complaints are in Taddesse Tamrat, *Evangelizing the Evangelized: the Root Problem between Missions and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, in Getatchew Haile, Aasuly Lande, Samuel Rubenson (eds.), *The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia. Papers from a Symposium on the Impact of European Missions on Ethiopian Society*, Lund University, August 1996, Frankfurt am Main 1998, pp. 26-27.

hagiographer says that “not even a single letter was obliterated.”¹⁶

The *HA* is read in the liturgy throughout the Holy Week, until the vigil of Easter Sunday and during the Eucharistic celebration at the time of the clergy's communion. It is noteworthy that the rubrics of the printed *Gə'əz*, Amharic and *Təgrəña* versions of the *Mäṣḥafä Qəddase* “Missal,” do not prescribe readings from the *HA*, nor does the commentary to the Missal refer to readings from the *HA*. In the Ethio-Eritrean Orthodox Churches, the *HA* is held in high regard and nobody would dare to imagine that many parts of this work are interspersed with forgeries. The trust on the *HA* is unflinching. This is confirmed by a recent polemical but well documented booklet. The author, with a clearly fundamentalist view and usage of the Bible, who however claims to stick to the Orthodox faith,¹⁷ launches vitriolic invectives against the cult of the Virgin Mary, of the *Tabot*,¹⁸ against the intercession of Mary, of the angels and saints. The primary target of the blistering attacks are the *gädlät* “lives of the saints,” and the hymns known as *Ziq*¹⁹ which exalt the Virgin Mary, the Angels and saintly humans. Nonetheless, the same author expresses wholehearted loyalty to the *HA*. He writes: የታወቁትን ቅዱሳን አባቶች ትምህርት የያዘው ሃይማኖት አበው የተባለው መጽሐፋችን, “Our book, called *HA*, contains the doctrines of well known holy fathers ...”²⁰

The impressive number of parchment and paper copies of the *HA*, the fact that notwithstanding its size it has been interpreted by *andämta* masters²¹ is a witness to its prestige and authority. The *HA* is also a resource

¹⁶ K. Conti Rossini et C. Jaeger, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. I. Acta S. Walatta Petros. II. Miracula S. Zara-Buruk*, CSCO 68, Aeth. 30, Romae 1912, p. 43.

¹⁷ According to the author “perverted by mercenaries who have betrayed the Bible and the pure doctrines of the Apostles.” He declares that character and extent of the Marian piety enhanced by Ethiopian liturgical texts is nothing else but a cover of a pagan cult of the “queen of heaven” condemned by the Scriptures (Jer 44:19). The prerogatives that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church ascribes to Mary, to the angels and saints, according to this author, are “satanic, idolatry, clerical mischief and betrayal of the good faith of the common believers.”

¹⁸ *Tabot* means “ark,” dwelling place of the divinity. In practice it is the highly revered altar upon which the Eucharist is celebrated in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

¹⁹ For a summary on the meaning and origin of *Ziq*, cf. Habtemichael Kidane, *L'Ufficio Divino nella Chiesa Etiopica. Studio storico-critico con particolare riferimento alle ore cattedrali*, OCA 257, Roma 1998, pp. 117-119.

²⁰ Getačäw (*Mämhər*), *Gädl wäys gädäl? [Hagiography or precipice?]*, Addis Ababa 1997 (A.M.), pp. 69-70.

²¹ R. W. Cowley, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Oriental Publication 38, Cambridge 1988, p. 468, provides a list of *andämta* manuscripts. Among them, we can mention EMM 1090, a paper manuscript of the late 19th cent. The Amharic commentary is in ff. 146a-326a and there is a discussion of some theological terms employed in the *HA*, always in Amharic. There is a commentary in EMM 1600 too. For a brief presentation of the earliest witnesses of the *HA*, cf. A. Wion – E. Fritsch,

brilliantly employed in hagiographical texts. In the *Gädl* of Mälkə'a Krəstos (16th/17th cent.) it is quoted for more than forty times in the context of the disputes with Catholic missionaries.²² After the Bible, the *HA* became a cross parties arbiter in the fratricidal long running Christological stalemate over the issues of "Union" and "Unction" in the person of Christ.²³ Ethiopian traditional scholars maintain that the *HA* has never been printed in its integrity. There is a bilingual, Gə'əz and Amharic edition published in Addis Ababa in 1967 AM and re-published again in Addis Ababa in 1986 AM. This would be a partial edition of a broader text. No translation in any other language has been produced so far.²⁴

1. *The Ethiopian traditional interpretation of Pro 9:1: General considerations*

Overwhelming evidence from Ethiopian exegetical texts, points to the fascination for the typological and allegorical²⁵ interpretations. According to Ethiopian hermeneutical standards the degree of penetration into the various layers of the mystery that a text "conceals," enhances the attractiveness of an explanation. Proverbs 9:1 is one of the lucky passages of the Old Testament that has provided to Christian exegetes a witness that foreshadowed the mystery of the Incarnation. Thus, beside the commentary to the text of 9:1, the contents of this verse has been amplified in several other religious writings, starting from the liturgy.

Pro 9:1 reads: "Wisdom has built her house; she has made it rest on seven pillars." A passage in the *HA*, ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria, offers an explanation that goes beyond the literal sense of the pillars. It says:

"Haymanotä abäw," EAE II, p. 1074. It is interesting to observe that there is no *tərgwame*, Gə'əz-Gə'əz commentary on the *HA*.

²² O. Raineri (ed., tra.), *Vita del santo monaco etiopico Malk'a Krestos (sec. XVI-XVII) edizione del testo etiopico e traduzione italiana*, PO 228 (51.3), Turnhout 2009, cf. especially, pp. 283-291.

²³ For a glimpse of the leverage *HA* had in the debates, cf. the references listed in Yaqob Beyene, *L'unzione di Cristo nella teologia etiopica: contributo di ricerca su nuovi documenti etiopici inediti*, OCA 215, Roma 1981, pp. 200-211; 274-277. In a small handbook of the "Unctionists's" there are at least thirty seven references to the *HA*, cf. Getatchew Haile, *The Faith of the Unctionists in the Ethiopian Church (Haymanot Mäsihawit)*, CSCO 517 / Aeth. 91, 518 / Aeth. 92, Louvain 1990.

²⁴ Among the many benefits that would be obtained from an in-depth research of the *HA* would be a focus on the translation techniques employed to render it into Gə'əz.

²⁵ For the meaning of the term "allegory" and its historical evolution, cf. G.I. Gargano, *Il Sapore dei Padri della Chiesa nell'esegesi biblica*, Cinisello Balsamo 2009, pp. 82-165; M. Simonetti, *Origene esegeta e la sua tradizione*, Brescia 2004, pp. 51-70.

As it has been written: 'wisdom has built a house for herself and has made it rest on seven pillars'. As for wisdom it is the Word of God, truly Son of God and the house she built is his flesh that he took from the Virgin, that is, his humanity; the seven pillars are the seven books of the New Alliance.

The above excerpt is part of a homily which has the following title: **ድርሳን : ዘደረሰ : ወነበበ : ቅዱስ : ቄርሎስ : በእንተ : ቅድስት : ሥላሴ : መሀሩነ : አበዊነ : ቅዱሳን : ከመ : ንእመን : በ፩ዱ : አምላክ : አጋዜ : ኩሉ : ብሉየ : መዋዕል : ዘአልቦቱ : ጥንት : ወኢተፍጻሜት ።** "Treatise on the Trinity that Saint Cyril composed and pronounced. Our saintly fathers have taught us that we believe in the One God who holds everything, the Old of days, who does not have beginning nor end."²⁶

The passage does not appear in any of Cyril of Alexandria's known works that survive in Greek. There is however an analogous interpretation in the *De Trinitate* attributed to Didymus.²⁷

Pro 9:1 is evoked for a second time in the *HA* in a document which is introduced in the following terms: "From a synodal letter of the pure father Abba Sunutyu, patriarch Liqä Pappas of Alexandria and Egypt to abba Diyonasyos, patriarch of Antioch, responding to his letter sent to him in 752, year of the pure martyrs."²⁸

And he took from her by the Holy Spirit without the seed of man, a flesh that it has in it a speaking and rational soul, which is equal to us and is similar to us in the suffering, as it is written: 'for wisdom has built a house to herself'.

2. The Arabic source(s) of the Christological comments on Pro 9:1 in the CP

i. Cyril of Alexandria

The *CP*, in the third text ascribed to the Alexandrian Patriarch Cyril entitled *Maymar*,²⁹ deals with the Trinity.

²⁶ *HA*, p. 259.

²⁷ PG 39:705. G. L. Mingarelli (1722-1793) ascribed this work to Didymus "the Blind" (313-398), an Alexandrian theologian who for half a century animated his renowned Catechetical School. The ascription of the *de Trinitate* to Didymus has been disputed and rejected. M. Simonetti makes a categorical statement on the issue of authorship: "... il nostro De Trinitate non può essere attribuito a Didimo," cf. "Didymiana," *Vetera Christianorum* 21 (1984), pp. 142-146.

²⁸ *HA*, p. 495.

²⁹ *Maymar* is a loanword from Syriac *mêmrê*, meaning: speech, homily, theological treatise, cf. G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini*, CSCO 147, Subsidia 8, Louvain 1954, p. 110.

مَيَمَرُ قَالَهُ الْقُدَيْسُ كَيَرُئُسُ تَكَلَّمَ فِيهِ لِأَجْلِ الثَّالُوثِ

عَلَّمَنَا آبَاؤُنَا الْقُدَيْسُونَ أَنَّ نُومِنَ بِإِلَهِ وَاحِدٍ ضَاطِبِ الْكُلِّ، وَهُوَ بَلَا ابْتِدَاءٍ، بَلْ أَرْبِي مُنْذُ قَطٍ، الَّذِي لَيْسَ لَهُ انْقِصَاءٌ، أَبَ وَاحِدٍ كَامِلٍ بِأَقْنُومِهِ، وَابْنُ وَاحِدٍ كَامِلٍ بِأَقْنُومِهِ، وَرُوحُ الْقُدُسِ الْكَامِلِ الثَّامُ بِأَقْنُومِهِ وَصُورَتِهِ، وَلَيْسَتْ هَذِهِ مِثْلَ دَرَجَاتٍ مَمْلُكَةٍ، بَلْ هِيَ جَوْهَرٌ وَاحِدٌ، سُلْطَانٌ وَاحِدٌ، مَسْرَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ، إِرَادَةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ، رُبُوبِيَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ، وَاحِدٌ هُوَ اللَّهُ خَالِقُ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ، وَالْبَحْرِ وَكُلِّ مَا فِيهِ، وَفِي آخِرِ الْيَامِ، لَمَّا أَرْسَلَ اللَّهُ جِبْرَائِيلَ إِلَى مَرْيَمَ الْعَذْرَاءِ الطَّاهِرَةِ، وَبَشَّرَهَا قَائِلًا: «السَّلَامُ لَكَ، يَا مُمْتَلِئَةَ نِعْمَةٍ، الرَّبُّ مَعَكَ». فَفِي الْحَالِ نَزَلَ الْكَلِمَةُ فِي أَحْشَائِهَا بِسَمَاعِ الْأُذُنِ، مِنْ غَيْرِ زَرْيَعَةٍ إِنْسَانٍ، مِنْ غَيْرِ اخْتِوَاءٍ، وَمِمَّا لَا يُفْهَمُ، كَمَا هُوَ مَكْتُوبٌ: «الْحِكْمَةُ بَنَتْ بَيْتَهَا، نَحَتَتْ أَعْمِدَتِهَا السَّبْعَةَ» (امثال ٩: ١). الْحِكْمَةُ هِيَ الْإِلَهُ الْكَلِمَةُ ابْنُ اللَّهِ، بِحَقِّ، وَالْبَيْتُ هُوَ الَّذِي بَنَاهُ هُوَ الْجَسَدُ الَّذِي أَخَذَهُ مِنَ الْعَذْرَاءِ، الَّذِي هُوَ نَاسُوتُهُ، وَالسَّبْعَةُ أَعْمِدَةٌ هِيَ السَّبْعَةُ كُتُبُ الْعَهْدِ الْجَدِيدِ.³⁰

Homily pronounced by S. Cyril speaking in it about the Trinity. Our holy fathers have taught us to believe in one God the Pantokrator, He is without beginning but eternal, forever, Who is without end, one only Father, complete in his hypostasis, one only Son complete in his hypostasis, and the Holy Spirit complete and full in his hypostasis, and these are not like the ranks of a kingdom but that is one only substance, one only might, one only pleasure, one only will, one only lordship. Only one is God, Creator of heaven, of earth, of sea and of everything that is in it. At the end of the days when God sent Gabriel to Mary, the Virgin, the pure, and announced to her saying: "Hail o full of grace, the Lord is with you; the Word descended in her bowels by the hearing of the ear, without the seed of man, without limitation (without being contained) and without being understood as it is written: 'Wisdom has built a house, she has dug her seven pillars'." The wisdom of God is the Logos, truly Word of God. At the end of the days when God sent Gabriel to Mary, the Virgin, the pure, and announced to her saying: "Hail o full of grace, the Lord is with you the Word descended in her bowels by the hearing of the ear, without the seed of man, without limitation (without being contained) and without being understood as it is written: "Wisdom has built a house, she has dug her seven pillars." The wisdom of God is the *Logos*, truly Word of God. The house he has built is his body, taken from the Virgin which is its humanity and the seven pillars are the seven books of the New Testament.

ii. S. Leo the Great (390-461)

Cyril is not the only author to whom a Christological reading of Pro 9:1 is ascribed. The CP in the manuscript, Vaticano arabo 178, fol. 114v reads³¹:

³⁰ *Confession of the Fathers*, Cairo 2002, p. 174.

³¹ In folio 70 of the manuscript there is an annotation of the birth and circumcision of

وقال لاون في رساله الي ابلابنانوس

الحِكْمَةُ بَنَتْ لَهَا بَيْتًا الَّذِي هُوَ ابْنُ اللَّهِ، تَجَسَّدَتْ وَحَلَّتْ [مكان ترميم] لَدِ الَّذِي أَخَذَهُ مِنَ الْإِنْسَانِ
وَصَيَّرَهُ ذَا نَفْسٍ بِرُوحِ الْقُدُسِ حَيًّا نَاطِقًا فَقَدْ وَافَقَ الْآنَ لَاوْنُ نَسْطُورٍ فِي اتِّحَادِ

And Leo in his letter to Ablābnanūs³² said: "Wisdom built a house which is the Son of God. He became flesh and inhabited [...], which he took from man and made it like a soul, by the Holy Spirit, therefore now Leo is in agreement with Nestorius on the unity."³³

This text is reported in the History of the Councils ascribed to Sawirus of Ashmunayn (10th cent.). It reads:

- وقال لاوون في رسالته الي ابلابيانوس الحكمة بنت لها بيتا الذي هو ان الحكمة تجسدت وحلت
فيها في الجسد الذي اخذه من الانسان وصيره ذا نفس بروح القدس حيا ناطقا وقد وافق الان لاوون
نسطور في اتحاد المسيح وزعما جميعا ان المسيح سكن في انسان³⁴

In fact, the letter Pope Leo addressed to Flavianus which deals with Eutyches, says: "Fecunditatem enim virgini Spiritus sanctus dedit, veritas autem corporis sumpta de corpore est; et ædificante sibi Sapientia domum (Prov. IX, 1), *Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis* (Joan. 1,14): hoc est, in ea carne quam assumpsit ex homine, et quam spiritu vitæ rationalis animavit,"³⁵ "For, the Holy Spirit gave fertility to the Virgin but the truth of the body is taken from the body. As wisdom built a house for herself, the Word became flesh and dwelt in us (Jn 1:14); namely, in that flesh that he took over from mankind, and that he animated through a spirit of rational life."

Abi-Isaac which would have taken place in the month of Mesore of the year 1092 of the holy Martyrs (1376 AD), cf. A. Mai (ed.), *Catalogus Codicum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Romae 1831, pp. 323-324 [here p. 324].

³² Ablābnanūs is the Arabic form for Flavianus of Constantinople († 449).

³³ The codex has the following ending:

[هنا ينتهي المخطوط ومن الواضح ان أوراق قد سقطت]
في منتصف الصفحة على اليمين ختم المكتبة.
الورقتان الاخيرتان مرممتان

The manuscript ends here and it is clear that some leaves are missing. In the middle of the page, on the right there is the seal of the library. The last two leaves are restored.

³⁴ Sévère Ibn al-Moqaffa', évêque d'Aschmounaïn, *Histoire des conciles (second livre)*. Arabe et français. L. Leroy (ed.), PO 29 (6.4), 1911, p. 566.

³⁵ S. Leonis Magni Tomus ad Flavianum episc. constantinopolitanum (Epistula XXVIII), additis testimoniis Patrum et eiusdem S. Leonis M. Epistula ad Leonem I imp. (Epistula CLXV), ad codicum fidem recensuit C. Silva-Tarouca, Textus et documenta. Series Theologica 9, Roma 1932, p. 24.

In the Armenian Florilegium which goes under the name of Timothy Aelurus († 477), our text appears in a dogmatic letter of Pope Leo. It reads: "And Wisdom has built her own house (Pro 9:1), the Logos has made himself flesh and has dwelt in us (Jn 1:14), this means in that flesh that he has taken from Mary and that is animated from a breath of a rational life."³⁶

iii. Shenute II

In the *CP*, Pro 9:1 is quoted anonymously in a passage ascribed to the Alexandrian Patriarch, Sanuthius II (ordained Pope in 1024 † 1038). In the Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ edition the letter in which the quotation appears is preceded by a title which reads:

البابا سانوتيوس الثاني الخامس والستون. وُلِدَ فِي تِلْبَانَه، وَرُسِمَ بابا فِي شَهْرِ بَشَنْسِ سَنَةِ ٤٢٠١ م،
وخدم الحبرية مدة ٤١ سنة، و٧ شهور، و٥١ يوماً، ورقد في الرب في ٢ هاتور سنة ٨٣٠١ م.
من رسالة سنوديقا للأب الطاهر أنبا سانوتيوس بطريرك الإسكندرية ومصر، إلى القديس ديونيسيوس
بطريرك أنطاكية، جواباً عن رسالته إليه، الواردة في سنة سبعمائة اثنتي وخمسين للشهداء الأَطْهَار.³⁷

The Pope Sanutius II, the 65th [Patriarch]. He was born in Tilbana and was appointed Pope in the month of Bashans, in the year 1024 AD and has served for 14 years, 7 months, 15 days and departed to the Lord on Hathor 2, of the year 1038.

From the Synodical Letter of the pure father. Anba Sanudius, Patriarch of Alexandria and of Egypt to Saint Dionysius, Patriarch, as an answer to him, arrived to him in 752 of the Year of the Martyrs.

The passage of the letter containing the reference to Pro 9:1 is as follows:

وَتَشَبَّهَ بِنَا فِي الْأَلَامِ، ذُو نَفْسٍ نَاطِقَةٍ عَقْلِيَّةٍ، كَمَا كُتِبَ: إِنَّ الْحِكْمَةَ بَنَتْ لَهَا بَيْتاً³⁸.

He resembled us in the sufferings, having a speaking and rational soul as has been written: "As for wisdom she built a house for herself."

³⁶ K. Ter-Mëkërttschian und E. G. Ter-Minassiantz (herausgegeben von), *Timotheus Älurus' des Patriarchen von Alexandrien Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre. Armenischer Text mit deutschem und armenischem Vorwort, zwei Tafeln und dreifachem Register*, Leipzig 1908, p. 53. Cf. also F. Cavallera, "Le dossier patristique de Timothée Aelure," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 11 (1909), pp. 342-359.

³⁷ *Confession of the Fathers*, p. 356; Vaticano Ar. 101 (XIII/XIV) f. 326v.

³⁸ *Confession of the Fathers*, p. 359; Vaticano Ar. 101 (XIII/XIV) f. 334v.

3. *Why not Cyril?*

Even though we cannot exclude altogether that Cyril might have resorted to Pro 9:1, in the quest of providing a scriptural prophecy and foundation to the mystery of the Incarnation, from a survey of his authentic works it has been impossible to trace any reference to Pro 9:1.

4. *The issue of forgery*

There is no doubt that forgery³⁹ has been a very widespread practice in antiquity. As a matter of fact it lingers on undisturbed in some parts of the world.⁴⁰ One of the main reasons is that writings were not legally protected by the bond of copyright. Forgery involved counterfeiting authors, all sorts of written works, such as books, letters, decrees, liturgical texts, legal documents like testaments and donations. The fourth Council of Constantinople (680) strove hard to unmask several forgeries. The Apollinarists were perceived as masters in falsifying texts. Cyril himself has fallen victim of Apollinarist forgeries: they swamped his writings with their ideas. In his letters, he complains that the Nestorians were instrumental in doing this job.⁴¹ Perhaps the most striking example of Apollinarist infiltration in Coptic Orthodoxy is the axiom of paramount importance: "the one nature of the enfleshed Word of God." Cyril made use of this formula believing that it came down from a work entitled *Περὶ Σαρκώσεως*, which he attributes to Athanasius.⁴² S. A. McKinion observes that "to the credit of his accusers, Cyril had borrowed terminology, however unwittingly, from the Apollinarian fragments, most importantly his famous (infamous?) phrase μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ σεσαρκωμένη."⁴³ Even though his Antiochene rivals were at loggerheads with Cyril over this Christological wording, it can be fairly excluded that Cyril's understanding of the expression was an Apollinarist one.

³⁹ On the issue of forgery, cf. W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum*, München 1971. For a good summary, A. Hamman – F. Gori, "Falsificazione," *Nuovo Dizionario di Patristica e di Archeologia Cristiana*, Genova – Milano 2007, pp. 1902-1903.

⁴⁰ Among the Copts in Egypt and even in modern Christian Ethiopia sensitivity with regard to copyright is still wanting and plagiarism is flagrantly practiced.

⁴¹ Cf. *Epistola* 40, ACO 1.1.4:29²⁰⁻²¹, PG 77:200A.

⁴² Cf. *Oratio ad Dominas*, ACO 1.1.5:65^{25ff}; Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea*, p. 250, includes the text in his collection of Apollinarian fragments. On the *Mia Physis*, cf. J. A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: the Christological controversy: its history, theology, and texts*, Crestwood 2004, pp. 207-212.

⁴³ S. A. McKinion, *Words, Imagery, and the Mystery of Christ: a reconstruction of Cyril of Alexandria's Christology*, Leiden ; Boston ; Köln 2000, p. 109.

The *Qerālos*, the Gə'əz version of the Cyrillian *Corpus*, at least Weischer's editions do not contain an explicit quotation of Pro 9:1. As far as I have been able to assess, I could not find the text of the *HA* ascribed to Cyril in any extant Greek publication of the Alexandrian bishop and renowned theologian. This does not exclude conclusively the paternity of the comment. The point of my paper is not only to pursue the important issue of the *Vorlage* of the interpretation of Pro 9:1, but to put it into its wider context. The widespread multilayered decoding of the house and of the pillars is a precious specimen which indicates the common route pursued by Ethiopian tradition in the interpretation of the Bible.

5. *Early echoes of Christological interpretations of Pro 9:1: Hippolytus and Origenes*

i. Fragment of Hippolytus' (3rd cent.) comment to Pro 9:1

“Ἡ σοφία ὡκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον.”

Ἰππολύτου· Τὴν νέαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἁγίαν σάρκα.

“Καὶ ὑπήρεισεν στύλους ἑπτὰ.”

Τὴν ἑβδομάδα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀναπαυομένην ἐσήμανε, καθὼς Ἡσαΐας μαρτυρεῖ λέγων.⁴⁴

“Wisdom built a house to herself.”

Of Hyppolitus. The new Jerusalem and the holy flesh.

“And set up seven pillars.”

Indicates the week of the Holy Spirit that was resting upon him, as Isaiah witnesses, saying ...

ii. Origenes (3rd cent.)⁴⁵

a. Audi Sapientiam dicentem quia aedificavit sibi domum. Ego autem hoc de incarnatione Domini rectius intelligendum puto. Non enim manu hominum factum est, id est non opere humano templum carnis aedificatur in virgine, sed sicut praedixerat Danihel, ‘lapis sine manibus excisus crevit, et factus est mons magnus’. Istud est ‘sanctimonium’ carnis assumptae et ‘sine manibus’, id est absque opere hominum, de monte humanae naturae est substantiae carnis excisum.

I heard Wisdom saying that it built a house to herself. Moreover I believe

⁴⁴ M. Richard, “Les fragments du Commentaire de S. Hippolyte sur les Proverbes de Salomon,” *Mus* 79 (1966) 82, n. 37-38 (reprint in *Opera Minora I*, 17, Turnout 1976).

⁴⁵ *In Exodum Homilia* VI,10-14. Cf. W. A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*, VI (GCS 29), Leipzig 1920, pp. 202-203.

that this is to be understood more correctly as referring to the Incarnation of the Lord. In fact it was not made by the hands of men, for, the temple of the flesh is not built by human work, but as Daniel foretold, "a stone cut without [human] hands grew, and was made a great mountain. This is the 'sanctification' of the flesh that was assumed and, 'without hands', this means that the substance of the flesh is cut from the mountain of human nature, without the work of men.

b. Vidi autem et domum, quam edificavit, sine dubio incarnationis eius mysteria; ipsa est enim domus quam sibi edificavit sapientia.⁴⁶

I also saw a house, which he built, doubtless the mysteries of his Incarnation; that is in fact the house that Wisdom built to herself.⁴⁷

6. *Andämta* of Pro 9:1

The technical Amharic term *andämta* means "interpretation, hermeneutics." It is applied to all religious texts of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, including obviously the *HA*. The interpretative method of the *andämta* which has known its major time of expansion during the 17th/18th centuries, follows the normal path of biblical exegesis. The starting point is the text which is always presented (either fully or sometimes partially to spare space) in Gə'əz. It is followed by a literal translation (or various possibilities of translating the text) into the spoken languages, eventual considerations on the text (*critica textus*), then a string of interpretations is offered, each of which is normally introduced by the entry *andäm* which means "or." In the past fifty years, much of what needed to be said about the *andämtas*, has been masterfully dealt with by Roger Wenman Cowley (1940-1988).⁴⁸ He is the pioneer of scientific studies on the *andämtas*. More recently, the late *mäggabe bäluy* Säyfä Šəllase Yoḥannəs (1935-2002 A.M.), an outstanding biblical scholar (the right hand of R.W. Cowley in his researches on the *andämtas*) has written a comprehensive and well articulated contribution on the subject in Amharic.⁴⁹ An English translation

⁴⁶ Cf. W. A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*, VIII (GCS 33), Leipzig 1925, p. 120.

⁴⁷ For more interpretations of Pro 9:1 in the same line, cf. Theodori Peltani, *In Proverbia salomonis paraphrasis et scholia: ex SS. patrum scriptis vulgatae editioni accommodatae, & morali doctrina concionatoribus & catechistis perutili referta*, Antverpiae 1606, p. 126.

⁴⁸ For a brief biography of Cowley, cf. M. A. Knibb, "Roger Wenman Cowley," EAE I, pp. 812-813. For an exhaustive list of Cowley's publications, see his own (last) book, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 392-394.

⁴⁹ Säyfä Šəllase Yoḥannəs (*mäggabe bäluy*), *Yä-ityoppäya ortodoks Täwähädo beta-krəstiyan tarik kä-lädätä krəstos əskä 2000 A.M.* [*The History of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwähädo Church from the Birth of Jesus to 2000 (Ethiopian Calendar)*], sine data, sine loco, pp. 174-209.

of this paper would be helpful to researchers who are not familiar with Amharic and would safeguard the work from misuse.

- i. Translation of the *andəmta* of Pro 9:1-5 (the text is in italics, the comments in Amharic are in roman characters)

9:1 *Wisdom built a house to herself.*

Wisdom [namely] the Son created the world.

She raised to herself seven pillars.

She prepared the seven days.

9:2 *She immolated her own sacrifice*

She created foodstuff.

She poured in her cup her wine.

She created beverages.

And she prepared her table.

She prepared a table.

9:3 *She sent her servants*

She created the sun and the stars and sent them this world.

Calling through a long preaching

Imparting many teachings to mankind. *Andəm.* Summoning through teaching.

9:4 *Saying: "Let the ignorant draw near to me."*

She wants to say: "Let the unlearned person come to me through an enquiry of the sun and stars."

And also those who are wanting in knowledge.

She wants to call the persons who are short of knowledge because there are people who were converted investigating the beauty of creation.

9:5 *She says: "Come ye! Eat my bread and drink my wine that I have poured to you."*

Come! Eat the bread that I have created for you and drink the wine. *Andəm.* Wisdom, the Son, created Adam who was going to become her dwelling place and created the seven senses. If they ask what these seven senses are, [the answer is]: eye, ear, mouth, nose, hand, leg, the small member.⁵⁰ *Andəm.* It is sufficient [to mention] those above the neck: two eyes, two ears, two noses,⁵¹ mouth. *Andəm.* She created the five external senses and the two internal senses. *Andəm.* They also reverse [the order]: She created the five internal senses, the two external senses. She created the sacrifice of knowledge, the wine of knowledge, the table of knowledge. She appointed the prophets and sent them to this world to teach generously. *Andəm.* She invited people to teach generously so that the unlearned may learn from them and come to me. She summoned people with a shortage of knowledge. *Andəm.* Wisdom, the Son, created the flesh which was going to become her dwell-

⁵⁰ "Euphemism" for sexual organ.

⁵¹ That is, the two cavities of the nose.

ing place; she created the sevenfold wealth enumerated in Isaiah [11:2]. *Andām*. Wisdom, the Son, built the Church and appointed the seven ministers. If they ask who the seven ministers are, [the answer is]: the priest, the assistant priest, the deacon, the assistant deacon, the reader, the singer, and the gate keeper.⁵² *Andām*. She established the seven books to be read during the Eucharistic celebration. If they ask what the seven books are, [the answer is]: the four Gospels, the apostle Paul, Acts of the Apostles. *Andām*. She established the seven levels of hierarchy: the archbishop, the bishop, the overseer, the priest, the deacon, the assistant deacon, and counts as one the orders which are below these ones. *Andām*. She established the seven books to be announced to the faithful: the Gospel, the apostle Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse, the Synodos, the Didascalia. Saying that Synodos and Didascalia are counted as one [book], [the seventh book would be] the Book of the Testament. She gave her flesh and blood: he repeated this to introduce the table. *Andām*. She prepared the Cross. She appointed the apostles and sent them to give many instructions. *Andām*. Summoning people to impart many teachings, saying: "Let the unlearned ones come to me after having being instructed by these." Calling the people who do not have knowledge, she said: "Come and eat my flesh that I have prepared for you and drink my blood."⁵³

In the *andāmtas* above there is no direct reference to the passage of *HA* at the center of this paper. Nonetheless, it is clear that the explanations are in line with the pseudo-Cyrrillian Christological hermeneutics of Pro 9:1. In fact, it looks like that the *andāmta* interpreter has been inspired by it, and felt legitimized to tread the same allegorical path following the footsteps of his Alexandrian models.

ii. The *andāmta* of Pro 9:1 in liturgical texts

There are two anaphoras that in their "Prayer of the Fraction" have a lavish praise to Wisdom. The language is close to the text which has inspired the composers of the hymns to Wisdom, that is, Pro 8 and 9, as well as in Ben Sira 24, where wisdom is not only an abstract virtue but is depicted as a creative power and then a living person. The two Eucharistic prayers appear under the names of Epiphanius of Salamis, Cyprus

⁵² Literally: the gate shutter.

⁵³ *Mäṣahəftä Sälomon wä-Sirak. Zäwə'əton Məssaləyatä Sälomon, Tägəsaṣä Sälomon, Təbäbä Sälomon, Mäṣəḥəfä Mäkbəb, Mähalləyā Sälomon, Mäṣəḥəfä Sirak zälyyasu. Kəqədəmo abbatoč gəmməro siwərəd siwwarrəd yämätṭaw nəbabunna tərg'amew (bə-andāmta)* [*The Books of Solomon and Ben Sira, which are: Proverbs of Solomon, Admonition of Solomon, Wisdom of Solomon, Book of Qohelet, Canticle of Solomon, Book of Ben Sira of Joshua. Text and its interpretation (in andāmta style) as it was handed down from (our) forefathers*], 2nd edition, Addis Ababa 1988 (AM), pp. 34-35.

(315-403)⁵⁴ and Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria from 444 to 454. None of the two has ever written a Eucharistic prayer that we know of. Even though the time of composition and authorship remain unknown, there is no doubt that the two anaphoras are local productions.⁵⁵ The attribution to the above prominent Church figures, probably aimed at getting acceptance, is simply fictitious. The "Prayer of the Fraction"⁵⁶ is sung by the main celebrant. The following is an English translation of the text and of its interpretation.⁵⁷

Where is the country of Wisdom?

Let him say: "Where is the country of Wisdom?." Wisdom is the Lord. He interprets: "*Wisdom is indeed our Saviour.*"

Where is her dwelling place? Where is her abode?

Where is her province? Where is her province?

Where has the trail of her way been found? He said: "Where has the trace of her way been found?," meaning that nobody has analyzed her nature.

Who crossed the sea and bought her for red gold? Who crossed the sea by a ship and acquired her with pure gold?

Who transcended the clouds and brought her down?⁵⁸ Is there anyone who climbed up to the cloud and brought her down? He said this because she cannot be investigated.

Mortals do not know her way. Mortal man does not understand her nature.

She was not among the children of men. She is not liable to human searching.

She has been forgotten by all humans. She has been neglected by everyone. Comment. He has said: "*She has been forgotten*" because she was never scrutinized.

She has hidden herself from all birds of heaven. She has ensconced from the an-

⁵⁴ For a brief discussion on the works of Epiphanius translated into Gə'əz, cf. W. Witkowski, "Epiphanius of Salamis," EAE II, pp. 336-338.

⁵⁵ With some elements descending from older foreign traditions, such as the double epiclesis in the Dioscorus anaphora, the second being an epiclesis of the Logos.

⁵⁶ For a description of the actions and meaning of the "Prayer of the Breaking of the Bread," cf. J. L. Bandrés, *A Glance behind the Curtain. Reflections on the Ethiopian Celebration of the Eucharist*, Adigrat 2008, pp. 64-105.

⁵⁷ The present translation was done on, *Mäṣḥafä Qəddase. Käqädəmo abbatoč siwārəd siwwarrəd yämättaw nəbabunna tərg'amew* [The Book of Sanctification [Missal]. Text and its interpretation as it was handed down from forefathers], 2nd edition, Addis Ababa 1988 (AM), pp. 392-395. The *andəmta* to the Dioscorus anaphora does not provide the text translated here. Instead it gives a rubric (n. 38) that directs to the Epiphanius, both for the text and for its interpretation, *Mäṣḥafä Qəddase*, p. 452. I have intentionally avoided comments on the commentary, thus in the footnotes there are only a few references.

⁵⁸ The rhetorical questions regarding wisdom's whereabouts remind the following passage of Enoch 42:2: ወፅአት : ጥበብ : ከመ : ትሕድር : ውስተ : ውሉደ : ሰብእ : ወኢረከበት : ማገደረ : ጥበብ : ውስተ : መካና : ገብአት : ወተጽዕነት : ማእከለ : መላእክት ። "Wisdom went out so that she could dwell among the children of men but did not find an abode. Wisdom returned to her place and she rode among the angels."

gels: he [the commentator] is declaring that he has not enquired her. *Andām. She has been forgotten by all humans.* She was neglected by the Scribes and Pharisees because they did not believe in Him. *She has hidden herself from all birds of heaven.* She has hidden herself from the demons. As it says: "Do not talk behind the back about people in your home, for the bird of the sky will bring your word out."⁵⁹

Those who acquired her became friends of God. Those who owned her through good deeds and virtue were declared friends of God.

Those who hate her love death. Those who serve her in good deeds and virtue would hate their life and love their death.

She is more beautiful than the sun. He wants to say: "She is shining, she is adorned" more than the sun.

And more than every existence of the stars. He wants to say: "The body of the stars." She surpasses the stars in brilliance and beauty.

And when she is compared to light she is found out to be the first. She proves to be the first when she compares herself with the Father, as she says: "I and the Father are one; he who has seen me has seen my Father."⁶⁰

And even existing from of old she renews everything. While existing since old days, she purifies, ennobles everything.

And she migrates into the soul of the righteous from generation to generation. She abides in one and then in another: as in Israel she has dwelt from Moses to Joshua, from Elijah to Elisha.

She is better than a precious pearl. She is better than a precious pearl.

There is no match to her glory. No glory can rival her. Comment: for, all of this derives from her.

She has counsel and might. She has knowledge, strength of the flesh and strength of the soul.

She has strength and knowledge. She gives, she has strength of knowledge.

Kings rule through her. The likes of David and Solomon rule through her.

Through her the mighty write justice. Through her the likes of Jephth⁶¹ and Samson⁶² rule in truth. *Andām.* Through her priests judge in truth.

Through her, the great are honoured. The likes of Abraham and Job are honored through her.

Through her, rulers conquer the land. The likes of Moses and Joshua will obtain the land of inheritance.

She loves those who love her. She loves those who love her through obedience of the law.

She keeps those who keep her. She keeps those who observe her law.

Those who seek her will find favour. Those who desire her through the law and worship will gain friendship.

⁵⁹ Free quotation of Qohelet 10:20.

⁶⁰ Jn 14:9.11.

⁶¹ Judges 10-11.

⁶² Judges 13-16.

She treads the paths of justice. She dwells in the genuine person and supplies to him words of truth.

She walks back and forth in the trail of justice. She does not separate herself from what is true. *Andām.* *She treads the paths of justice.* She dwells in the one who has clung to the nine laws. *She walks back and forth in the trail of justice.* She does not separate from him who holds fast to [the Law that says]: "*Don't worship [idols].*"⁶³

So that she may give a treasure to those who know her. So as to make a treasure those who love her. *Andām.* That she may give them *the wealth of his flesh.*

That she may fill their stores with joy. So that their homes may be filled with the wealth of his flesh. *Andām.* That she may extol their bodies.

He who knows everything knew her. It is the Father. The Father who knows everything knows her.

He who examines everything has smartened her way. The Father who knows everything after having investigated it, knows her nature after having investigated it. [This is referred to] what he said: "*There is nobody who knows the Son except the Father.*"⁶⁴ *Andām.* He [the Father] was pleased with her becoming a human person.

He gave her to Jacob his loved one. To the two tribes. *And to Israel his holy one.* He gave it to the ten tribes in prophecy and hope.

And after this she appeared on earth. The Son revealed herself [sic] in the flesh. *She walked back and forth as a son of man.* She became flesh.

Behold! She built a house to herself. She produced the beauty of creation.

And raised seven columns. She established seven days to create. *Andām.* Dividing into seven, as it says: "*I have sealed you with the seven seals.*"⁶⁵ *Andām.* She established seven thousand years to create.

She immolated her own sacrifice and poured in her cup her wine.

She prepared foodstuff and beverages.

And she prepared her table.

The land of inheritance. *Andām.* She prepared the table of sacrifice.

She sent forth her servants

She created the sun and the stars.

Calling through a long preaching

That they may shine everywhere. *Andām.* *She sent forth her servants.* She sent forth the Major and the Minor Prophets. *Calling through a long preaching.* That they may teach saying: "He will descend, will be born."

Saying: "*Let the ignorant draw near to me.*"

Saying: "Let he who does not believe in me stay away from me." *Andām.* Saying: "Let the disobedient person come to me."

And also those who are wanting in knowledge.

⁶³ Es 20:3-5

⁶⁴ Mt 11:27.

⁶⁵ 4Baruch (*Paralipomena Ieremiae*) 3:10, cf. A. Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Leipzig 1866, p. 3.

She invites those who are lacking in knowledge.

Saying: "Come and eat my bread and drink my wine."

She invites them telling them: "Learn from me!"

And abandon ye ignorance. Abandoning ignorance.

And live! Saying: "Live holding fast to knowledge." *Andām*. Behold she built a house to herself. Wisdom, the Son, created the flesh. And raised seven columns. *Andām*. She reigned by giving the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. *Andām*. She became perfect in the flesh. In fact it is said that "among the Jews, seven is a perfect number."⁶⁶ *Andām*. She has built the Church. *Andām*. She has prepared the seven books of the Eucharistic service. *Andām*. The three sections of the New Testament,⁶⁷ the Didascalia, the Book of the Testament, the Faith of the Fathers [HA]; skip the Apocalypse for it is not read. *Andām*. The sum total of four Gospels and of the three sections of the New Testament is seven. *Andām*. She prepared the seven books of the [academic] synod⁶⁸: the Gospel, the three sections of the New Testament, the Apocalypse, the Faith of the Fathers [HA], either the Didascalia or Clement: this will be seven. *Andām*. She appointed the seven ministers. *She immolated her own sacrifice and poured in her cup her wine*. She poured down her blood. *She prepared her table*. She prepared the Cross. *She sent out her servants*. She sent out the Apostles, the seventy Disciples,⁶⁹ saying: "Go and teach." *Through a long preaching*. That they may teach that he descended and was born. Saying: "Let the ignorant draw near to me." She issued a call saying: "Let the person who is ignorant come to me," [this is with reference] to his saying: "Come to me all of you who are tired and carrying a heavy burden and I will make you rest."⁷⁰ *Come and eat my bread and drink my wine*. She is calling them saying: "Come! Receive my flesh and my blood." *And abandon foolishness and live*. Abandon ye the will of the flesh and stand firm in the will of the soul.

As for wisdom it is our Savior who ransomed us by the slaughter of his flesh and redeemed us by the sprinkling of his blood. He now explained what he called "wisdom." What I called wisdom that is our Savior who cut his flesh and poured down his blood and gave them to us.

And chose us for his kingdom forever. He has made us worthy to inherit the kingdom of heaven.

⁶⁶ The quotation is from a text that the HA ascribes to Severus of Antioch, Cf. HA p. 376.

⁶⁷ The three sections of the New Testament can be understood as a general figure indicating the whole of the New Testament or more commonly, as in the title *Mäṣahəftä Haddisat Šostu* [The Three Books of the New Testament], of Mäḥari Tərfe's edition (Addis Ababa 1951 AM), it designates: Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Letters and Apocalypse.

⁶⁸ The term *guba'e*, used here, indicates the lesson held in every academic gathering but also the section of the text which is covered during the session.

⁶⁹ The mission of the twelve is registered by Mt 10, but only Lk 10:1 reports the sending of the seventy disciples.

⁷⁰ Mt 11:28.

Conclusion

The passages drawn from Hippolytus and Origen demonstrate that the Christological interpretation of Pro 9:1 is much older than the text offered under the name of Cyril of Alexandria by the compiler(s) of the *CP/HA*. It is already present in the Alexandrian milieu, from at least two centuries before Cyril. Even though the immediate source of the *andəmta* on Pro 9:1 is most likely the *HA*, researchers will not have accomplished their duty until they trace back the ancestry of the multifaceted comments to the text.

SUMMARY

The *Confessio Patrum* is a collection of Patristic writing compiled in Egypt in Arabic. The last writer in the *CP* is the patriarch Christodulos († 1077). It was subsequently translated into Gə'əz and it is in Ethiopia that the *CP*, known as *Haymanotä Abäw* made its fortune as the chief Patristic resource text, after the *Qerəlos*. It played a key role not only in the traditional Church training as an important part of the so called "Books of the Scholars" but also in the theological debates with missionaries and within the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwəḥədo Church. The *HA* is read in the liturgy throughout the Holy Week, until the vigil of Easter Sunday and during the Eucharistic celebration at the time of the clergy's communion. Theological treatises and traditional Ethiopian commentaries quote abundantly from the *HA* taking for granted that the authors under whose names the various passages are presented, have indeed penned them. The aim of this paper is to provide a specimen indicating that, often this is not the case. Researchers dealing with quotations drawn from the *HA* always need to verify their authenticity.

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Encore un fragment copte relatif au Panégyrique de Jean-Baptiste, attribué à Théodose d'Alexandrie

En éditant (ou plutôt en rééditant après Wessely), dans le dernier fascicule de la *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, un humble feuillet copte de la Papyrussammlung de Vienne (K 9118), avec une traduction allemande et, à défaut d'identification, un «Zeilenkommentar» aussi prolixe qu'oiseux, M. Hans Förster en a été pour ses frais¹. Car ce feuillet était, depuis belle lurette, identifié correctement par K. H. Kuhn, qui l'avait intégré à son édition du Panégyrique de Jean Baptiste, attribué à Théodose d'Alexandrie².

Nous n'aurions pas emboîté le pas à notre aimable informateur, qui a été si prompt à dénoncer ce malheureux article, que l'on peut considérer, sans ambages, comme nul et non avvenu³, si nous n'avions pas à faire

¹ H. Förster, „Siehe. Magier kamen aus dem Osten“: *Eine Paraphrase der Magier-Perikope aus dem Matthäusevangelium (Mt 2,1-12). Edition von P. Vindob. K. 9118 = SPP 18, 284*, in *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum – Ancient Christian Review*, 16 (2013), p. 399-422. C'est M. Alin Suciuc qui, dans un courrier privé, a attiré notre attention sur cet article tout frais paru et qui, le premier, a découvert, pour ainsi dire, le «pot aux roses».

Dans le fatras du commentaire, qui sollicite parfois le texte, un curieux parallélisme, révélateur d'une certaine tournure d'esprit, n'a pas manqué de nous faire sursauter. C'est lorsque, pour commenter le monologue d'Hérode qui commence par cette phrase: *Que ferai-je?*, l'auteur (cf. p. 414-416) fait appel au récit de la Passion où Pilate prononce une phrase identique (cf. *Mt.* 27, 22). Honnêtement, il n'y avait pas lieu, pour un trait aussi banal, d'aller «déranger» Pilate, et encore moins d'affirmer que «Herod is identified with Pontius Pilatus» ou que «the phrase “King of the Jews” which is focused throughout the Passion is integrated into the Magi pericope» («Abstract», p. 422). Du reste, «zur Deutung der Figur des Pilatus ... und seiner Verehrung als Heiliger in der koptischen Tradition» (n. 47), le Procurateur de Judée ayant été, à la faveur d'un martyr apocryphe, «canonisé» par les Coptes, H. Förster aurait dû citer — mais sans doute en ignore-t-il l'existence — l'article *De Pilate chez les Coptes* publié dans cette revue, cf. *OCP*, 62 (1996), p. 411-425.

² Cf. K. H. Kuhn, *A Panegyric on John the Baptist Attributed to Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria* (= *CSCO*, vol. 268 / *Copt.*, t. 33), Louvain, 1966, p. 27, l. 18 à p. 30, l. 7; voir aussi du même, *Three Further Fragments of a Panegyric on John the Baptist Attributed to Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria*, in *Mus*, 88 (1975), p. 103-112; *Four Additional Sahidic Fragments of a Panegyric on John the Baptist Attributed to Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria*, *ibid.*, 96 (1983), p. 251-265.

³ M. Förster, qui n'en est pas à son coup d'essai, nous a en effet habitués à ce genre d'extrapolations, et l'on peut même dire que c'est devenue sa spécialité. Nous renvoyons, pour l'édification du lecteur, aux mises au point d'*Orientalia*, 76 (2007), p. 174-175, et 78 (2009), p. 421-422; d'*Aegyptus*, 88 (2008), p. 203-206; d'*AB*, 129 (2011), p. 324 (E. Lucchesi); et d'*OCP*,

connaître un nouveau fragment se rapportant, non seulement au même Panégyrique, mais au même codex que K 9118 (= cod. B de Kuhn).

Il s'agit du fragment parisien, BnF, Copte 133², fr. 47^b, que nous ne connaissions pas encore au moment où nous avons signalé au Prof. Kuhn quelques compléments à son édition⁴.

Les menus fragments parisiens cotés 133¹ et 133² (+ numéros d'ordre) n'ont pas été montés sur onglet et reliés en volumes, comme les «Fragments divers non identifiés» (132²⁻⁴), mais sont longtemps restés lettre morte avant de recevoir leurs cotes propres et d'être placés sous-verre. Les lourds sous-verres ont été rangés à leur tour dans quatorze boîtes encombrantes, à raison de dix plaques par boîte⁵, ce qui, on s'en doute, rend malaisée la consultation et explique que nous les ayons peu demandés durant notre séjour parisien. À vrai dire, la seule excuse valable que nous puissions alléguer à notre négligence fut la volonté de ménager les dévouées magasinieres du Cabinet oriental de celle qui était encore la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Que n'avons-nous, dès cette époque, disposé des belles photos «numériques» qui font aujourd'hui la joie des chercheurs et remplacent avantageusement les originaux!

Contrairement aux fragments reliés en volumes, qu'on a classés au petit bonheur la chance, sans se soucier du contenu — ce qui a peut-être mieux valu — ni s'embarrasser de paléographie ou de codicologie, la répartition des fragments sous-verre repose sur des critères paléographiques approximatifs, en tant qu'on a essayé de rapprocher les écritures ou, ce qui revient au même, de les départager.

Ce triage, qui porte la marque de l'insigne maître en paléographie copte que fut Mgr Louis-Théophile Lefort⁶, et qui, dans son intention, se voulait purement indicatif, s'il facilite certes la consultation et peut rendre service dans un premier temps, n'en présente pas moins l'inconvénient de laisser croire que les fragments

76 (1010), p. 209-211 (Ph. Luisier). Mais le summum a été atteint dans l'ouvrage intitulé *Transitus Mariae. Beiträge zur koptischen Überlieferung. Mit einer Edition von P. Vindob. K 7589, Cambridge Add 1876 B und Paris BN Copte 129¹⁷ ff. 28 und 29 (Neutestamentliche Apokryphen II)* (= GCSNF 14), Berlin 2006, où l'auteur, en mal d'identification, a réussi le tour de force de pondre non moins de 277 pages à partir de trois pauvres fragments coptes, qui, remis dans leur contexte codicologique et littéraire, eussent tout au plus fourni matière à trois pages de commentaire. Je laisse deviner les hypothèses gratuites échafaudées par l'auteur, que d'aucuns ont déjà mises à mal. En procédant au simple récolement des fragments en question, nous aurons l'occasion de remettre les pendules à l'heure.

⁴ Cf. K. H. Kuhn, *Four Additional Sahidic Fragments* (cit. *supra*, n. 2), n. 1-3.

⁵ Cf. notre *Répertoire des manuscrits coptes (sahidiques) publiés de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (= *Cahiers d'Orientalisme*, 1), Genève, 1981, p. 11-12; cf. aussi A. Bouvarel-Boud'hors, *Catalogue des fragments coptes*, I. *Fragments bibliques nouvellement identifiés*, Paris, 1987, p. 2.

⁶ Nous avons, en effet, de bonnes raisons de croire que ce regroupement par types d'écriture s'est effectué sur les conseils avisés et sous l'œil exercé de Mgr Louis-Théophile Lefort, puisque, indépendamment d'autres témoignages, la numérotation des étiquettes collées sur les fragments porte son écriture, qui nous est familière. Mgr Lefort fut en tout cas le premier à s'intéresser de près à cette *indigesta moles* de fragments (plus de 1400) en vue de ses éditions magistrales, avant les identifications systématiques des fragments bibliques par Anne Boud'hors (cf. note précédente).

rapprochés de la sorte sont susceptibles d'avoir appartenu au même codex, ce en quoi on aura vite fait de déchanter.

Il est à peine besoin de noter que similitude d'écriture ne signifie pas identité de codex, et que des fragments qui extérieurement se ressemblent à s'y méprendre, fussent-ils de la même main, ne proviennent pas nécessairement du même manuscrit. Le critère paléographique — Lefort ne le savait que trop bien — ne suffit guère. Seule, en définitive, l'identification d'un fragment pourra décider de son appartenance à tel ou tel codex, à telle ou telle œuvre. Et ce, surtout lorsqu'on est en présence de cette écriture bâtarde ou hybride (dont les fragments évoqués ici sont autant de spécimens), qui s'échelonne entre les X^e et XI^e siècles et dont la Bibliothèque du Monastère Blanc nous a fourni tant d'exemples. Sans parler des fragments minuscules — presque des miettes —, qui défient toute identification.

Parmi les sept fragments qui avoisinent le 133², 47^b et forment un ensemble jusque dans leurs sous-cotes communes, à savoir 47, 47^a, 47^c, 47^d, 47^e, 47^f et 47^g, aucun ne s'est révélé appartenir au Panégyrique de Jean-Baptiste.

Ainsi, par exemple, le fr. 47, qui a miraculeusement gardé sa pagination (29-30), a trait à la fin du *Martyre de Paul* et s'ajoute aux *disiecta membra* du codex C de notre *Contribution codicologique au Corpus copte des Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*⁷, auquel codex pourrait aussi, en principe, avoir appartenu le fr. 47^a, mais, les lettres subsistantes n'offrant aucun point de repère, seul un raccord éventuel confirmera ou infirmera cette appartenance.

Pour rester dans le champ des apocryphes, le fr. 47^f — ainsi que le fr. 48^b qui ne fait pas partie du lot, mais se trouve dans le voisinage immédiat, ce pourquoi nous le signalons à l'attention — appartient à première vue aux *Actes d'André et Matthias* selon une *recensio brevior* (épisode de l'idole qui parle) et rejoint trois fragments parisiens (dont deux qui se raccordent) que nous avons rattachés au codex A de notre *Contribution codicologique*, lequel atteste précisément des Prédications d'Apôtres en recensions brèves⁸.

Les fragments 47^c et 47^g, au regard de leurs caractéristiques extérieures et de leur teneur, sont les seuls à se rattacher avec certitude au même codex et à la même œuvre, dont l'identité se précise peu à peu, depuis que d'autres fragments complémentaires plus consistants, conservés notamment à Vienne et au Caire, sont venus en renfort. Nous leur attachons beaucoup de prix.

Quant aux fragments 47^d et 47^e — avec lesquels nous aurons fait le tour —, nous dirons seulement qu'ils proviennent de codices différents et, partant, d'œuvres différentes, dont nous nous sommes fait une première idée.

Bref, rien que dans ce petit lot, il y a pratiquement autant de codices qu'il y a de fragments. Mais, quelle que soit leur taille, nous ne désespérons pas d'en venir à bout tôt ou tard, moyennant quelque raccord.

⁷ Il s'agit d'un codex de Martyres d'Apôtres exclusivement: cf. E. Lucchesi, *Contribution codicologique au corpus copte des Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, in P.-H. Poirier, *La version copte de la Prédication et du Martyre de Thomas* (= *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 67), Bruxelles, 1984, p. 7-24, ici 14-15 et pl. III. Notre fragment s'insère exactement entre Paris 129¹⁷, 69, p. 17-18 (fin du Martyre de Pierre – début du Martyre de Paul), et Paris 131⁶, 62, p. 39-40 (Metastasis de Jean).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8-9 et pl. I. Ce fr. 47^f précède logiquement les trois autres (p. 103-[106]).

Pour revenir maintenant à notre fr. 47^b (à lire verso-recto), son texte est strictement parallèle à l'édition de Kuhn, p. 27, l. 18 à p. 30, l. 7, avec lacunes intermédiaires, cela va sans dire. Il court en effet parallèlement, non seulement au manuscrit complet Morgan M 583 (témoin de base de l'édition), mais aussi au Paris 129¹⁷, f. 18, paginé 39-40 (= cod. A de Kuhn). Et, qui plus est, il se raccorde physiquement au fragment du Caire, Musée Copte, n° d'inv. 3791 (= Crum, *Coptic Monuments*, n° 8315), déjà connu de Kuhn (= cod. B), pour former un seul feuillet, quoique toujours incomplet et privé de pagination (notre fragment parisien en constitue la partie inférieure gauche par rapport au recto). Mais cette pagination n'est pas difficile à rétablir (61-62), puisque les deux feuillets, incroyablement intacts, qui suivaient immédiatement dans le codex ne sont autres que Londres, B. L., Or. 3581 B (8), f. 3, et Vienne K 9118, paginés respectivement 63-64 et 65-66. Ce qui revient à dire que le folio résultant du raccord du *Parisiensis* et du *Cairensis* précédait, à deux pages d'intervalle, le *Vindobonensis* K 9118 (le folio même de Förster).

Colligite fragmenta... Voici donc un fragment supplémentaire qui vient enrichir le codex B de ce long Panégyrique de Jean Baptiste par Théodose d'Alexandrie, non dépourvu d'intérêt, fragment que l'article de H. Förster — c'est là son seul mérite — aura bien involontairement contribué à faire connaître.

On serait bien naïf de croire que ce nouveau venu clôt la liste des fragments relatifs au Panégyrique en provenance du Monastère Blanc, et il faut s'attendre à ce que d'autres débris surgissent de l'ombre où ils gisent lamentablement, y compris peut-être dans la richissime collection de Vienne, où Hans Förster aura, pour se racheter, tout loisir de les mettre à jour, maintenant qu'il tient le bon bout

APPENDICE

Vers l'identification d'un autre panégyrique de Jean-Baptiste

Dans l'introduction à son édition du *Panegyric on John the Baptist* (cit. *supra*, n. 2), K. H. Kuhn ne manquait pas de faire remarquer (p. VII, n. 2) que des trois fragments décrits par W. E. Crum sous le numéro 293 de son *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (Londres, 1905), le deuxième et le troisième, paginés respectivement 45-46 et 63-64, faisaient bel et bien partie du Panégyrique, mais que le premier, paginé 5-6, quoique se rattachant incontestablement au même codex et ayant trait à Jean-Baptiste par-dessus le marché, «has no parallel in the Pierpont Morgan text, but may perhaps have formed part of another work on John the

Baptist which preceded the panegyric here edited in Codex B». Et Kuhn de renvoyer à son tableau synoptique de la p. IX. Ce fragment numéroté 5-6 (qui s'avère donc inédit, hormis un court extrait donné par Crum) n'a donc pas été retenu par Kuhn, comme n'offrant pas de parallèle avec le codex Morgan M 583.

Effectivement, puisque, d'une part, les pages 35-36 du premier feuillet connu, relativement au Panégyrique, du codex B (à savoir Vienne K 9477) sont parallèles aux pages 58-59 du ms. Morgan M 583, où le Panégyrique commence à la page 46, ainsi qu'aux pages 15-16 du codex A, qui sont celles du feuillet correspondant au n° 220 du *Catalogue* précité de Crum, et que, d'autre part, les pages 11-12 du premier feuillet survivant (à savoir Paris 129¹⁸, 53) du même codex A, qui visiblement débutait par le Panégyrique, sont à leur tour parallèles aux pages 54-55 du manuscrit new yorkais, un simple jeu de calcul, abstraction faite de ce que ces trois témoins attestent des recensions passablement différentes, nous permet de situer approximativement autour des pages 23-24 le début du Panégyrique dans le codex B.

La vingtaine de pages restantes en amont étaient plus que suffisantes pour renfermer une autre pièce, par laquelle s'ouvrait naturellement le codex. Autrement dit, dans le codex B, le Panégyrique de Théodose figurait en deuxième position, après une pièce où il était déjà question de Jean-Baptiste, ce qui laisse entendre que toute la première partie, sinon l'intégralité, du manuscrit était consacrée au Précurseur⁹.

La comparaison du codex B avec le codex A, qui provient également du Monastère Blanc, exclut d'ailleurs l'hypothèse selon laquelle le codex B pourrait représenter une recension amplifiée du début, — un peu comme c'est le cas pour le témoin bohaïrique (*Vat. copt.* 62), qui, avant de doubler le Morgan M 583, possède en propre l'équivalent de douze pages (f. 120-124 + un folio perdu), — car, à part le fait qu'on conçoit mal un développement aussi étendu, ce qu'on connaît des pages initiales du codex B (voir *infra*) ferait double emploi avec la suite du récit dans le Panégyrique de Théodose.

En résumé, le codex B de Kuhn débutait, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, par un autre panégyrique, non identifié, de Jean-Baptiste, dont le fragment londonien paginé 5-6 était à ce jour le seul représentant connu.

⁹ Des recueils homilétiques coptes relatifs à Jean-Baptiste ont sûrement existé, comme en fait foi le catalogue de la bibliothèque du couvent de Saint-Élie «du Rocher» (voir en dernier lieu R.-G. Coquin, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 75 [1975], p. 218 et 232), où, outre le «Martyre» de Jean Baptiste et l'«Invention» de ses ossements, est cité «Un livre de discours», dont on aurait aimé plus de détails. Comme dans notre codex B, dans un papyrus fragmentaire de Turin (éd. Rossi), à un *encomion* acéphale sur Jean Baptiste, ouvrant le codex, faisait suite un sermon sur le même sujet, attribué à Proclus de Cyzique (CPG 5875, qui le classe parmi les *dubia*) et commençant à la p. 44.

Or, il ne sera pas inutile de signaler — c'est le but même du présent appendice — que les premières lignes (conservées) du fragment londonien se recoupent textuellement avec les dernières lignes (conservées) du Paris, Copte 129¹⁷, f. 10, paginé 3-4. Ce feuillet, amputé de sa moitié inférieure, fut jadis publié par E. Revillout en même temps qu'un autre feuillet mutilé, le Paris 129¹⁷, f. 11^r, ressortissant au même codex (ce que Revillout n'indique nulle part) et traitant également de Jean Baptiste¹⁰. Passons sur le verso, paginé 14, du Paris 129¹⁷, 11¹¹, qui arbore le titre et le début lacunaire du «Martyre de Zacharie» (en réalité un extrait du *Protévangile de Jacques*, dont la fin se lit au recto du Paris 130⁵, f. 90) et qui a fait l'objet d'un article de nous déjà ancien, *Martyre de Zacharie et Protévangile de Jacques*, paru dans *Mus*, 101 (1988), p. 65-76. Le recto, paginé 13, du même Paris 129¹⁷, 11 contient ce qui semble être la finale du texte dont le Paris 129¹⁷, 10 nous restitue partiellement les pages 3-4 et par lequel le codex débutait à l'évidence.

Revillout publiait aussi dans la foulée (*JA*, p. 449-450; *PO*, p. 136-139), en l'intercalant entre les deux autres, le Paris 129¹⁷, f. 9, un folio presque complet, qui se révèle, lui, appartenir à un codex différent — ce que Revillout, obnubilé par sa *Sage-femme Salomé* et son *Évangile des Douze Apôtres*, ne prend même pas la peine de relever —, et plus précisément — *guarda caso!* — au codex B de Kuhn. Ce folio, dont la pagination 9-10 n'est pas non plus indiquée par Revillout, s'avère donc complémentaire du premier fragment de Londres BM 293 qu'il suivait à un folio d'intervalle. On se retrouve ainsi, pour cet autre panégyrique, avec deux codices parallèles, l'un représenté par BM 293, f. 1 (p. 5-6) et Paris 129¹⁷, f. 9 (p. 9-10), l'autre par Paris 129¹⁷, f. 10 (p. 3-4) et 11^r (p. 13).

La portion de texte considérable qu'ajoutent, chacun de son côté, Paris 129¹⁷, 9 et Paris 129¹⁷, 10-11^r confirme, si besoin était, que nous avons affaire à un panégyrique de Jean-Baptiste ou, à la rigueur, à une Vie sous la forme d'un panégyrique. Les doutes exprimés par excès de précaution dans notre article (p. 67) quant à l'appartenance à la même pièce des folios 10 et 11^r du Paris 129¹⁷ sont maintenant levés.

À la lumière du recouplement textuel du Paris 129¹⁷, 10 avec le fragment londonien, dont les paginations respectives (3-4 et 5-6) coïncident à peu près, il ressort que le codex B de Kuhn (augmenté du Paris 129¹⁷, 9) et celui auquel appartenaient les feuillets 10 et 11 du Paris 129¹⁷ débutaient tous deux par la même pièce, même si dans le second codex, qui se révèle être un homélaire à usage liturgique (comme nous le suggérions dans notre article

¹⁰ D'abord dans *Journal asiatique*, X^e série, 5 (1905), p. 446-448 et 452-453, puis dans *PO* 42 (9.2), p. 135-136 et 139.

¹¹ Édité par Revillout seulement dans *Journal asiatique*, cit., p. 456.

par le terme impropre de *katameros*), il s'agissait sans doute d'un *excerptum*¹². Si dans ce dernier codex, on assiste, avec le «Martyre de Zacharie», à un changement apparent de pièce et de sujet, on n'en reste pas moins dans la thématique qui semble avoir présidé à l'ordonnance du codex et qui tourne autour de Jean-Baptiste. De Jean-Baptiste, en effet, il est à nouveau question dans l'extrait — car d'extrait il s'agit — qui suivait le «Martyre de Zacharie» et dont le lemme, qui l'attribue à Chénouté, annonce d'emblée la couleur (= Paris 130⁵, f. 90^r, cf. notre article, p. 67 et n. 7)¹³.

Cela fait donc deux témoins, qui se complètent mutuellement, du même panégyrique (ou *Bios*) de Jean-Baptiste, qui reste cependant à identifier. Mais l'heureuse découverte d'un second témoin, ainsi que d'une nouvelle et significative portion de texte, laisse bien augurer de l'identification future.

En outre, ces restes d'un panégyrique de Jean-Baptiste, relevant de deux codices différents, présentent une étrange parenté avec la *New Life of John the Baptist*, publiée par A. Mingana d'après deux manuscrits syriaques en sa possession, qui l'attribuent à l'évêque Sérapion (de Thmouis?), in *Woodbrooke Studies*, I, Cambridge, 1927, p. 234 à 287. Nous avons même relevé une étroite rencontre textuelle, qui, toute isolée qu'elle est, prête à réflexion: au texte de 129¹⁷, 10^r, «Lorsqu'il eut douze ans, il se mit à réprimander les scribes qui trompaient le peuple» (notre traduction), correspond presque littéralement un passage de Mingana, «And when He was twelve years old, He began to rebuke the Teachers and deceivers of the people». Mais les divergences sont encore plus accentuées, et rien ne permet de conclure à l'identité des deux textes. Faut-il pour autant remonter à un archétype grec commun, dont le copte et le syriaque seraient les avatars? Il est plus vraisemblable que ces deux versions dérivent de modèles grecs indépendants ayant puisé à la même source. Encore que la trame du récit évangélique, qui est la principale source d'inspiration, suffise parfois à expliquer certains traits communs (ainsi la phrase précédente fait-elle allusion à l'épisode, raconté par *Luc* 2, 41-50, de Jésus adolescent enseignant les docteurs, dont le petit Jean, de six mois son aîné, se doit d'imiter les faits et gestes).

De son côté, A. van Lantschoot avait aussi remarqué de vagues similitudes entre le texte de Mingana et quelques *Fragments coptes d'un pané-*

¹² Cet *excerptum* portait-il le même titre et était-il attribué, s'il l'était, au même auteur que le panégyrique qui ouvrait le codex B? Rien n'est moins sûr. Dans le cadre d'un homélaire liturgique (ici pour le mois de *thôt*), où un texte peut subir des accommodements, il n'est pas exclu qu'il fût introduit par un titre anonyme, tel que «Martyre de Jean-Baptiste», attesté par ailleurs, en écho au «Martyre de Zacharie» suivant.

¹³ Je ne sais si d'autres ont déjà remarqué que la mention **CINOYΘIOY ΛΟΓΟΥ** (au génitif), ne signifie pas «Discours de Chénouté», mais «(Extrait) d'un discours de Chénouté», ce qui est effectivement le cas.

gyrique de S. Jean-Baptiste, édités et traduits par ses soins dans *Mus*, 44 (1931), p. 235-254. Ces fragments étaient arrachés au texte sous-jacent de quatre feuillets palimpsestes, conservés à Naples (n° 311 du *Catalogus* de Zoega = *Catalogo* de P. Buzi, p. 331-332), dont les trois premiers portent encore respectivement la pagination 24, 26 et 36 (au verso seulement), le quatrième ayant perdu la sienne. Y sont relatés les événements liés à la construction du Martyrion de Jean-Baptiste à Alexandrie, sa dédicace par Théophile, l'exhumation du corps du saint le 2 *paône* (ou *ba'ûnah*), et, après une lacune de 8 pages, les prodiges qui eurent lieu autour du tombeau de Jean-Baptiste, notamment celui de la jeune fille riche qui, à la suite d'une vision, embrasse la vie monacale. Sur ce miracle, qui se retrouve dans Mingana, s'achevait aussi le panégyrique, puisque l'auteur passe aussitôt à la péroration.

Mais, là encore, «à y regarder de plus près, la ressemblance est superficielle, limitée à un petit nombre de passages, et se laisse très aisément expliquer par le fait que, traitant le même sujet, les deux auteurs ont puisé leur information à une source commune» (van Lantschoot, p. 241).

Par ailleurs, comme van Lantschoot l'a bien vu, le premier fragment de Naples recouvre exactement le feuillet londonien correspondant au n° 323 du *Catalogue* de Crum susmentionné. Ce feuillet, paginé 29-30, que Crum attribue conjecturalement à une Vie d'Athanase, pourrait n'être en réalité qu'un second témoin du Panégyrique de van Lantschoot. La pagination, en tout cas, ne s'y opposerait pas, comparée à celle du premier fragment de Naples ([23]-26), ce petit décalage pouvant s'expliquer par la différence de la surface écrite. Que si le contenu du premier fragment de Naples et parallèle (mort de Julien l'Apostat et projet d'Athanase de bâtir un martyrion à Jean-Baptiste) s'inspire du récit similaire dans l'Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie, plutôt que l'inverse, cela tendrait à prouver le caractère composite du panégyrique de van Lantschoot, à l'instar de la Vie de Mingana, et sans doute aussi du *maymar* dont il va être question dans les lignes qui suivent¹⁴.

En effet, pour compléter le tableau, une communication du P. Jacob Muyser, au VIII^e Congrès de Papyrologie à Vienne¹⁵, nous apprend que le troisième fragment de van Lantschoot est «en étroite relation» avec «un

¹⁴ Le panégyrique bohaïrique acéphale du *Vat. copt.* 62 (éd. De Vis, *Homélies coptes de la Vaticane*, t. I, Hauniae, 1920, p. 12 sqq.) est aussi une œuvre composite, car, après une partie initiale (6 folios), pour laquelle on finira bien par trouver l'exact correspondant, il se prend à doubler sur toute la partie centrale (11 folios) le Panégyrique de Théodose, dont il se sépare inopinément pour emprunter la partie finale (7 folios) au sermon acéphale du papyrus de Turin (cf. *supra*, n. 9): voir à ce sujet T. Orlandi, *Teodosio di Alessandria nella letteratura copta*, in *Giornale italiano di filologia*, n. s. 2 (1971), p. (175-185) 180-181, réserve faite sur l'attribution hypothétique à Cyrille du panégyrique anonyme de la Vaticane.

¹⁵ J. Muyser, *Identification d'un manuscrit en copte sa'idique édit (sic) par moyen (sic) de*

très long mîmar en arabe dont la composition est attribuée dans le titre à «un certain fidèle» (et qui se nomme plus loins [*sic*] dans le texte «Jean»)). Ce *maymar*, attesté par cinq manuscrits, «contient, poursuit Muyser, toute la vie de S. Jean-Baptiste, celle de ses parents, [...] parle de la mort de Joseph le Charpentier, du jour de la consécration de l'église de S. Jean-Baptiste à Alexandrie, du jour de l'apparition de son chef et de son corps, de la construction d'une église en son honneur au village de Tûkh Bakrîmah, appelé Dûniyah, et de sa consécration le 2 *kiyahk*, puis de la construction d'une autre église en son honneur au Hâgar de Denderâ le 2 *tût*. Le titre mentionne encore que ce mîmar est lu à toutes les fêtes du Saint pendant l'année, dans l'Église copte. La vie du Saint y est donnée, en même temps qu'avec (*sic*) l'histoire de ses reliques et de son culte en Égypte, en 9 leçons bien séparées, quoique chacune des leçons ne porte pas un en-tête. L'histoire de la jeune fille qui se fait religieuse [c'est-à-dire Dûniyah, qui donnera son nom au village de Tûkh Bakrîmah] y occupe la 7^e leçon. Elle est pour une grande partie la traduction littérale du texte copte contenu dans le ms. de Naples [c'est nous qui soulignons]. Son histoire se résume ainsi dans les divers manuscrits du Mîmar mentionné.» Nous présumons que les neuf leçons ou lectures dont parle Muyser ne sont autres que les péricopes à lire aux différentes fêtes de Jean-Baptiste (ou assimilées) qui jalonnent l'année liturgique selon le calendrier copte, ce dont témoigne aussi à sa façon cette sorte de lectionnaire pour le propre des saints que représentent Paris 129¹⁷, f. 10-11 et 130⁵, f. 89-90.

Ne serait-ce que par sa longueur (50 folios), il paraît douteux que le *maymar* arabe ait pour ancêtre direct le Panégyrique de van Lantschoot, qui ne devait pas excéder trois quaternions. Ce qui est sûr, en revanche, c'est que le texte arabe, à en juger par l'un des témoins dont nous avons pu prendre connaissance grâce, une fois de plus, à l'obligeance de notre ami Nabil Farouk¹⁶, n'offre aucun point de contact significatif avec nos fragments parisiens et londonien qui se recourent. Est-ce à dire que le panégyrique attesté par ces fragments n'avait rien de commun avec celui de van Lantschoot? C'est ce qu'on ne saurait affirmer jusqu'à plus ample informé.

Mais il faut avouer qu'un tel chassé-croisé de textes à trois niveaux (copte, syriaque, arabe) n'est pas pour simplifier les choses.

trois autres manuscrits en arabe, in *Akten des VIII. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie Wien 1955*, Vienne, 1955, p. 95-96.

¹⁶ Il s'agit d'un manuscrit de l'église d'Anbâ Shinûdah au Vieux-Caire (Hist. VIII, f. 172^v-221^v [foliotation copte]), l'un des cinq mentionnés par Muyser. D'après ce témoin, le «fidèle en Jésus-Christ», auquel le titre attribue en termes vagues la paternité du *maymar* — ce qui, de fait, équivaut à un titre anonyme —, ne dit pas son nom dans le corps du discours. À noter que, en ce qui concerne le miracle de la jeune fille, l'arabe est plus proche du syriaque de Mingana que du copte de van Lantschoot.

Pour ce qui est de l'identification proprement dite du panégyrique (ou *bios*) de Jean-Baptiste qui ouvrait notre codex B (et codex parallèle), il ne reste plus qu'à chercher dans l'immense dossier copte des textes relatifs au Précurseur, dont la contribution de W. Till, *Johannes der Täufer in der koptischen Literatur*, dans la *Festschrift Junker* (= *MDAIK*, 16 [1958], p. 310-332), bien que largement dépassée, donne déjà un aperçu et de l'étendue et de la complexité¹⁷. Ce grand éventail de textes homilétiques s'explique non seulement par la figure prééminente de Jean-Baptiste, dont le Martyrion d'Alexandrie abritait les reliques conjointement à celles du prophète Élisée (à l'emplacement même du Serapeum), mais aussi par le nombre élevé de fêtes annuelles (près d'une dizaine) le concernant directement ou indirectement¹⁸, la plus importante étant bien entendu celle de la Décollation le 2 *thôt* ou *tût* (= 30 août), précédant de peu la commémoration du «Martyre» de Zacharie le 8 *thôt*. On est comme pris de vertige à l'idée de devoir s'aventurer dans la jungle des textes portant sur Jean-Baptiste, aussi bien dans la tradition grecque que dans la tradition copto-arabe et orientale en général.

Pour l'heure, contentons-nous de ce résultat, modeste certes, mais non sujet à caution. Par la nature même de sa documentation, la coptologie, qui s'apparente à bien des égards à la papyrologie, est affaire de longue patience, de lents progrès, de timides avancées et parfois aussi, quand la chance sourit, de fulgurantes découvertes.

SUMMARY

A Coptic fragment from Paris can be added to Codex B of K. H. Kuhn's edition of the Panegyric on John the Baptist attributed to Theodosius of Alexandria. The identification of another Coptic panegyric on the Baptist is discussed in the Appendix.

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¹⁷ Voir aussi notre article *Trois éloges coptes de Jean-Baptiste attribués à Athanase, Théophile et Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, in *VC*, 53 (1999), p. 323-324.

¹⁸ Les fêtes concernant, de près ou de loin, Jean-Baptiste sont énumérées dans notre *may-mar* (ms. d'Anba Shinûdah, f. 213^v-214^r). Nous traduisons ce passage: «L'annonce à Zacharie de la naissance de S. Jean eut lieu le 26^e jour du mois de *tût*, et sa naissance le 30^e jour du mois de *ba'ûnah*, et son martyre le 2^e jour du mois de *tût*; et le martyre de son père Zacharie le 8^e jour du mois de *tût* également; et l'apparition du corps du bienheureux (Jean) le 2^e jour du mois de *ba'ûnah*, et pareillement en ce (jour) eut lieu la consécration de son église en Alexandrie, et l'apparition de son chef saint le 30^e jour du mois d'*amshîr*; et le repos de sa bienheureuse mère (Élisabeth) le 12^e [*sic, lire 16^e*] jour du mois d'*amshîr*, et le repos du vieillard juste Joseph le Charpentier le 26 *abîb*.» Sans oublier la fête au 2 *kîhak* (originellement au 2 *tût*) de la consécration de l'église de Dûniyah (ou Tûkh Bakrîmah, au sud-ouest d'Asyût), dont le *khabar* débute immédiatement après cette énumération, ni la fête au 2 *tût* (avec dédoublement au 2 *kîhak*) de la consécration de l'église au voisinage de Dendera.

Florence Jullien

Une pratique religieuse en médiation culturelle entre chrétiens et mazdéens

Dans les textes syriaques qui se font l'écho des controverses mazdéo-chrétiennes à l'époque sassanide, l'un des procédés d'accusation des autorités officielles à l'endroit des minorités chrétiennes de l'empire consiste à les désigner comme des magiciens ou des sorciers. L'analyse de cette documentation nous conduit ici à relever comment une pratique rituelle considérée comme ambiguë en milieu chrétien, à la frontière entre magie, médecine et liturgie, peut devenir fédératrice entre les deux communautés¹.

1. Qui est le magicien ?

Dans la littérature hagiographique syriaque, l'accusation de magicien apparaît comme l'un des griefs forts reprochés par les mazdéens aux chrétiens désignés sous le terme de *naṣrāyē*, « nazaréens », lors des interrogatoires et des procès. Une telle présentation constitue par exemple la trame de ce que l'on pourrait appeler le « cycle siméonien », formé d'un ensemble de textes dépendants des actes de Siméon Bar Sabba'e, primat de l'Église syro-orientale au IV^e siècle. Ce personnage est ainsi dépeint au roi Šābūr II par le grand *mowbed* sous l'appellatif de « chef des magiciens », *ryš' dḥrš'*, ܪܝܫܐ ܕܚܪܫܐ²; sa doctrine chrétienne est dite relever de la magie, et tous les *naṣrāyē* sont des « magiciens » dont les croyances sont un leurre. Dans un autre texte, le même souverain s'interroge face à l'obstination de Pusiyy qu'il avait établi *qarūgbed*, superviseur en chef de ses artisans dans la ville de Karkā d-Ledān: « que faire », dit-il, « de ces magiciens qu'ils appellent évêques et prêtres, qui professent la religion du Nazaréen et l'enseignent aux autres comme à cet homme que j'avais couvert d'honneurs ? »³. Ce mo-

¹ J'exprime ma gratitude à Michel Tardieu et à Frantz Grenet pour leurs conseils et précieuses indications qui m'ont permis d'enrichir cet article.

² Kmosko, « Narratio de beato Beati Simeone Bar Sabba'e », p. 742, § 15

³ *Histoire de Pusiyy*, Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum syriace* II, p. 215; voir p. 222 l. 3-4: le roi blâme Pusiyy d'avoir été égaré par les « magiciens » de son groupe. Sur Pethion désigné comme « sorcier » dans l'histoire d'Anahid, voir Bedjan, *Acta martyrum* II p. 603; trad. Brock / Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, p. 98. Le texte syriaque de la Vie de

tif est aussi le fil conducteur de l'histoire de Tarbō, la sœur du catholicos Siméon — mais ici en thématique inversée : soupçonnée d'être à l'origine de la maladie de la reine par des enchantements qu'elle aurait opérés, elle est arrêtée et incarcérée à Séleucie-Ctésiphon. Toute sa justification consiste à faire valoir l'antinomie des pratiques magiques avec la foi chrétienne ; c'est souligner l'importance d'une construction défensive pour les rédacteurs de ces passions face à un type d'accusation certes progressivement devenu topique mais vraisemblablement grief récurrent de la controverse entre chrétiens et mazdéens. L'auteur de la *Vita Tarbō* construit son récit en un retournement : les mages deviennent eux-mêmes magiciens en ordonnant que le corps de Tarbō soit scié en deux pour une cérémonie macabre à finalité exorcistique et curative. La reine, conduite par les mages, passe avec son cortège au milieu des morceaux. Toute l'armée des Perses est invitée à faire de même — élément qui évoque, comme l'avait bien montré Franz Cumont, une conjuration du sort attestée chez les soldats macédoniens, procédé pris aux Perses et qui devait assurer la protection et la victoire⁴.

Si l'assimilation du mage au magicien ou au sorcier (voire au chaldéen) est ancienne et devenue fréquente en monde gréco-romain⁵, dans les textes syriaques cette superposition mage/magicien est rarement explicite. Judith et Samuel Lieu rappellent que le terme *μαγιστᾶιος*, probablement une translittération du syriaque *ܡܐܝܬܐ*, dans les versions grecques des hagiographies martyrologiques perses renvoie généralement aux mages originaires de Perse, sans connotation péjorative ou magique⁶. Si l'on parvient à discerner cette superposition dans notre documentation, c'est sous un mode souvent voilé. Ainsi serait-on tenté de la trouver, mais de façon antithétique, en filigrane du grief de sorcellerie prêté aux chrétiens par leurs détracteurs, représentants de la religion officielle de l'empire sassanide — allusion indirecte dans ces textes aux descriptions de mages-magiciens connus du monde romain et égypto-mésopotamien ? — Dans cette thématique inversée décelable dans ces récits de jugements, où les adeptes du mazdéisme persécuteur apparaissent comme des agents du monde ténébreux, le magicien n'est en fait pas celui que l'on accuse mais bien l'accusateur.

Pethion raconte comment les mages lui attribuent des pratiques incantatoires, Corluy, « *Historia Sancti Mar Pethion martyris* », p. 30.

⁴ Cumont, « La plus ancienne légende de S. Georges », p. 24, et n. 2-4.

⁵ Tant dans la littérature païenne que chrétienne, Bidez / Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* I, p. 144. Pour une étude de l'utilisation du terme « mage » dans la littérature gréco-latine, voir Nock, « Paul and the Magus », p. 164-188 ; Bremmer, « The Birth of the term 'Magic' », p. 1-12.

⁶ Lieu / Lieu, « Mani and the Magians (?) — CMC 137-140 », p. 212-213.

2. *Le sorcier, un hérétique*

Parmi les accusations portées à l'encontre des chrétiens par les mazdéens dans les textes de la période sassanide, on note comme un glissement où le sorcier, le magicien, est aussi l'hérétique dont le portrait, brossé par les narrateurs chrétiens en jeu de miroirs, réfléchit curieusement celui du mage lui-même. Cette interprétation est assez évidente dans l'histoire de Baršibia où le protagoniste est accusé d'avoir entraîné un grand nombre de gens « dans l'erreur » et de vouloir substituer la doctrine chrétienne à la religion officielle⁷. Il est paradoxalement présenté comme un « mage »⁸; fait à noter, le terme utilisé à dessein par le rédacteur est celui de *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥*, *mwhpt'*, *mowpeṭo*⁹: le chrétien apparaît ainsi sous la plume de l'hagiographe comme le véritable *mowbed*, maître de doctrine¹⁰ — procédé d'écriture qui a pour finalité de montrer la supériorité de sa religion sur le magisme. La *Lettre de Tansar* adressée à Ardašir I^{er} mais que la critique s'accorde à dater de l'époque de Khosrau I^{er} trois siècles plus tard¹¹, évoquant un certain nombre de supplices, décrit celui de la crucifixion comme le châtiment réservé aux hérétiques précisément qualifiés de « sorciers »¹². Nous savons que les chrétiens convertis du mazdéisme étaient souvent condamnés à ce supplice: Giwargis Mihr-Māh-Gušnasp¹³ ou encore Īšō'sabran et ses compagnons par exemple¹⁴.

À l'inverse, les chrétiens ayant renié leur foi et adopté le mazdéisme sont fréquemment dépeints comme des adeptes de la magie du fait même

⁷ C'est l'une des fréquentes condamnations que l'on trouve dans le *Livre d'Ardā Vīrāz*: sont en enfer ceux qui « ont propagé dans le monde beaucoup de doctrines et de croyances perverses », Gignoux, *Livre d'Ardā Vīrāz*, p. 187.

⁸ À propos du portrait de Mani décrit dans la littérature occidentale (*Acta Archelai* en particulier) dans une tenue vestimentaire perse, à mi-chemin entre la figure-type du mage et celle du prêtre de Mithra, voir Scopello, « Hegemonius, les *Acta Archelai* et l'histoire de la controverse anti-manichéenne en Occident »; Scopello, « Un témoin de la controverse religieuse entre chrétiens et manichéens aux frontières de l'Iran: les *Acta Archelai* », p. 161-166.

⁹ *Histoire de Baršibia*, Bedjan, *Acta martyrum* II, p. 281.

¹⁰ Les versions grecques des *Actes des martyrs* transcrivent généralement ce terme syriaque par celui de ὁ ἀρχίμαγος, que l'on peut traduire par « grand chef des mages ». Voir Lieu / Lieu, « Mani and the Magians (?) — CMC 137-140 », p. 217, n. 53 avec références à l'ouvrage de H. Delehay.

¹¹ Boyce, *The Letter of Tansar*, p. 12-14.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹³ Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 73; p. 107-110.

¹⁴ Chabot, « Histoire de Jésus-Sabran, écrite par Jésus-Yab d'Adiabène », p. 500. C. Jullien, « Peines et supplices dans les *Actes des martyrs persans* et droit sassanide: nouvelles prospections », p. 260 qui met en lien le choix de ce mode d'exécution avec la présence de la sainte Croix rapportée à Séleucie-Ctésiphon par le roi Khosrau après son intervention militaire à Jérusalem en 614.

de leur apostasie. Une telle vision est attestée par exemple chez Fauste de Byzance : le notable arménien Meruzan était passé du côté du roi des Perses dont il avait embrassé la religion, et avait été choisi pour conduire les troupes sassanides contre l'Arménie ; Fauste n'épargne pas les descriptions critiques à son encontre, détaillant ses recours aux augures, à la science des chaldéens, « aux talismans de la sorcellerie », signes évidents de son reniement¹⁵. En présentant ainsi ces anciens coreligionnaires comme les partisans du culte rendu aux *daevas* — culte blâmé par les mazdéens —, les auteurs chrétiens pouvaient, sans risquer d'encourir la désapprobation des autorités officielles, blâmer ces conversions et les dénoncer.

La sorcellerie peut ainsi apparaître comme l'apanage du déviant par excellence que représente, au sein du courant chrétien, celui qui ne partage pas la même foi¹⁶. Nous en avons relevé quelques indications qui, si elles sont rares, sont néanmoins significatives. Ainsi, l'auteur nestorien de l'*Histoire* de Rabban Bar 'Edta, texte syriaque rédigé au VII^e siècle, affuble-t-il un syro-orthodoxe, Zakkaï, du sobriquet dénigrant de « sorcier »¹⁷. C'est le même terme qui sert à désigner le miaphysite Ignace dans l'*Histoire* de Rabban Hormizd¹⁸. En retour, les jacobites du monastère de Mār Mattaï dénoncent Rabban Hormizd comme un sorcier (*ḥrš'*) et un séducteur (*mṭ'yn'*)¹⁹. Le terme utilisé en syriaque, *ḥrš'*, renvoie aussi bien à la magie, à la sorcellerie, qu'à l'enchantement ou au maléfice. L'association des deux termes *ḥrš'* et *mṭ'yn'* est ici à remarquer puisque la racine *ṭ'* désigne également celui qui erre dans la foi — « l'hérétique ». Les ouvrages de la bibliothèque du monastère de Mār Mattaï qui servent à la formation des frères — doctrine réprouvée par l'historien monastique d'obédience syro-orientale — sont qualifiés de « livres de sorcellerie » ou « de l'erreur »²⁰. Dans

¹⁵ Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia*, p. 443-444. Fauste de Byzance, *Histoires épiques* V, 43, éd. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories attributed to P'awstos Buzand*, p. 225-226. Manūel, le *sparapet* du contingent arménien, traite à plusieurs reprises Meruzan de sorcier et de magicien, *ibid.*, p. 226, 227.

¹⁶ Rappelons les fermes mises en garde des autorités ecclésiales chrétiennes face aux sollicitations des devins et des magiciens. Ainsi dans le deuxième canon de Dadišō', abbé au mont Izla (mort en 604) : « Si un des frères rejoint quelqu'un des hérétiques ou quelqu'un qui se rend à la maison des magiciens et des devins, et, confondu, n'accepte pas la correction, il sera tenu pour étranger à notre communauté ». Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, p. 168. Traduction française dans F. Jullien, *Le monachisme en Perse*, p. 140. On notera que les magiciens et les devins sont mis sur le même plan que les hérétiques.

¹⁷ *Histoire de Rabban Bar 'Edta* XXIX, Budge, *The Histories of Rabban Hōrmizd the Persian and Rabban Bar-'Idtā* I, p. 164 ; II, p. 247 ; I, p. 165 ; II, p. 250.

¹⁸ *Histoire de Rabban Hormizd* XXII, *ibid.* I, p. 95 ; II, p. 141-142.

¹⁹ *Histoire de Rabban Hormizd* XIV, *ibid.* I, p. 75 ; II, p. 111-112.

²⁰ *Histoire de Rabban Hormizd* XXI, *ibid.* I, p. 92 ; II, p. 138. À la prière d'Hormizd, sourd un ruisseau dans la bibliothèque dans lequel sont jetés les livres ; l'eau se change alors en boue

la même perspective, on pourrait citer un extrait de l'*Histoire philothée* de Théodoret de Cyr qui évoque les « charmes magiques » et les « démons maléfiques » auxquels ont recours les marcionites à l'encontre de l'évêque de Nisibe Jacques²¹.

3. *Veneficus et medicus*

En syriaque, le champ sémantique du substantif *hrš'* est également associé à la notion de drogue et de poison. D'où la traduction possible dans ce registre terminologique lorsque l'enjeu du débat entre chrétiens et mazdéens porte sur des questions de croyance: Ādur-Xvarxšēd reproche ainsi à Aithalaha et ses compagnons « d'empoisonner » le peuple ignorant²²; dans un autre passage, le *mowbēd* les invective en les traitant de « vils empoisonneurs » (ܡܘܒܕܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ) obstinés dans « leurs pensées impies »²³. On retrouve pareille concordance dans des expressions comme *dhrš' bny ywlpnkwn*, ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܝܘܠܦܢܟܘܢ, « votre secte d'empoisonneurs / de sorciers »²⁴. C'est l'un des traits du discours hérésiologique chrétien que d'assimiler parfois doctrine et substance vénéneuse, poison et hérésie: ainsi procède Épiphane dans son *Panarion* destiné à pourvoir en antidotes ceux qui ont été les victimes du venin des hérésies²⁵. Plus particulièrement, les

malodorante, symbole de la mauvaise odeur de l'hérésie (sur cette thématique en milieu grec, voir Épiphane, *Panarion* XXVII, 4, 7 et XL, 3, 5, Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book I (sects 1-46)*, p. 112; p. 286). Plus tard, l'auteur du *Livre des supérieurs*, Thomas de Marga, rapporte dans un contexte de controverses islamo-chrétiennes le cas d'un nestorien dont certaines expériences mystiques sont qualifiées d'enchantements par les musulmans de la région de Bēth-'Abē, *Livre des supérieurs* XXII, Budge, *The Book of Governors* I, p. 243; II, p. 454-455.

²¹ Καὶ γοητευτικαῖς χρώμενοι μαγγανείαις καὶ δαίμοσι πονηροῖς συνεργοῖς κεχρημένοι ἀοράτως πολεμεῖν ἐπειρῶντο, Théodoret de Cyr, *Histoire philothée* XXI, 15, Canivet / Leroy-Molinghen, *Théodoret de Cyr. Histoire des moines de Syrie* II, p. 96-97.

²² *Histoire d'Akebšema*, Bedjan, *Acta martyrum* II, p. 366. Gignoux / Jullien / Jullien, *Noms propres syriaques d'origine iranienne*, p. 35, n° 32.

²³ *Histoire d'Akebšema*, Bedjan, *Acta martyrum* II, p. 369.

²⁴ *Histoire d'Akebšema*, *ibid.*, p. 372.

²⁵ Pourkier, *L'hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamine*, p. 78-79. Dans ses notices, Épiphane assimile les hérésies combattues à un type de serpent chaque fois différent. Aline Pourkier souligne que depuis Justin, l'attribution d'une origine démoniaque aux hérésies conduit les écrivains à associer serpent des origines et doctrine déviante, p. 80; Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque. II^e-III^e siècles*, p. 29-31, 64-67, 84. On retrouve une image comparable — métaphore quasi culturelle — dans le *Livre d'Ardā Vīrāz*, où les tenants de doctrines déviantes se retrouvent en enfer torturés par des serpents, Gignoux, *Livre d'Ardā Vīrāz*, p. 187, chapitre 47; p. 182, chapitre 36; cf. p. 192-193, chapitre 56. Sur la symbolique zoologique utilisée dans le portrait de l'hérétique, voir Scopello, « Le renard, symbole de l'hérésie dans les polémiques patristiques contre les gnostiques », p. 73-88.

mouvances gnostiques sont toujours associées à une pratique de la magie ou de l'astrologie²⁶. Ces thèmes classiques des ouvrages de controverse et de réfutations des thèses gnostiques, comme aussi dans les polémiques qui opposèrent païens et chrétiens durant les premiers siècles²⁷, se trouvent ainsi restitués dans des œuvres d'un genre littéraire différent, à l'instar de ces textes hagiographiques: les chrétiens syriaques ont pu se familiariser avec ces clichés, comme en témoigne la reprise de l'image du poison dans la polémique anti-manichéenne; des écrivains comme Éphrem utilisent les procédés topiques du jeu de mots ou de la comparaison ridiculisante pour évoquer la doctrine de Mani, «le vase (*m'n'*) plein de poison caché» (*Sur la crucifixion* V, 11)²⁸.

Ces métaphores iologiques paraissent originales du point de vue mazdéen dans la controverse anti-chrétienne²⁹. Mais le clergé mazdéen a-t-il utilisé effectivement ces images pour calomnier les minorités déviantes? Il semble en fait que les auteurs syriaques aient reporté sur leurs adversaires leurs propres techniques de dénigrement, attribuant aux prêtres zoroastriens une attitude envers les chrétiens qui est *la leur même* à l'égard des *chrétiens* non orthodoxes. Ces textes constitueraient par là un témoignage sur les modes d'écriture hérésiographique des chrétiens d'Orient.

Autre aspect qui constitue l'un des développements de la thématique

²⁶ Pourkier, *L'hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamine*, p. 487, n. 67. Alain Le Boulluec a souligné que l'assimilation du culte de l'adversaire à un rituel magique, à dessein de le mépriser, pouvait trouver ses racines dans l'usage que faisaient en effet les gnostiques de formules magiques, Le Boulluec, «Discours hérésiologique et dénominations des 'sectes'», p. 116; Tardieu, «Gnose et Manichéisme», 1976, p. 293-294; *ibid.*, 1977, p. 335-339. Sur la description des gnostiques comme magiciens chez Irénée, voir Le Boulluec, «Discours hérésiologique», p. 117; Le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie*.

²⁷ Sur les accusations de magie portées contre le Christ et les chrétiens par les païens et restituées dans les ouvrages des premiers apologistes chrétiens, voir Sfameni Gasparro, «Magie et magiciens. Le débat entre chrétiens et païens aux premiers siècles de notre ère», p. 239-266.

²⁸ Beck, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Paschalhymnen*, texte p. 62; *ibid.*, version p. 50. La même idée est développée chez Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire ecclésiastique* VII, 31, 2: «... et, du pays des Perses, [Mani] répandait [mille hérésies] sur la terre habitée de nos jours comme un poison mortel. (...) Tel fut donc le fond de cette science au faux nom», Bardy, *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique Livres V-VII*, p. 221. Voir également le texte de l'édit *De maleficiis et Manichaeis* de l'empereur Dioclétien au proconsul d'Afrique, daté de 302 selon un consensus assez récent, Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, p. 121-122, n. 4. La description de l'adversaire en magicien ou en sorcier comme moyen de désignation et de dénigrement trouve des échos dans la littérature musulmane à l'encontre des manichéens, chez Firdousi par exemple, voir Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*, p. 127.

²⁹ Si le *Škand-Gumānik Vičār* aborde la question du poison et des plantes vénéneuses dans sa critique du christianisme, aucune signification doctrinale inhérente ne transparait; il s'agit d'une réflexion sur la question du libre-arbitre, chapitre XV, l. 84-91, de Menasce, *Une apologétique mazdéenne du IX^e siècle. Škand-Gumānik Vičār*, p. 216-217.

traversant ces textes de polémique : les rivalités de doctrine s'expriment sur le terrain littéraire par des rivalités de science, spécialement en matière médicale. Déjà la littérature hermétique ou incantatoire grecque façonnait cette image du mage initié aux sciences occultes, empoisonneur par sa capacité à composer potions ou breuvages maléfiques³⁰, susceptible de séduire l'entendement et d'abuser les esprits par les propositions d'une médecine jugée douteuse. Ainsi, l'authentique médecin est celui qui obtient des résultats parce que sa doctrine est véridique. Dans la construction hagiographique, le sol imprégné du sang des martyrs devient à l'occasion source de secours pour les populations locales³¹ : un myrte miraculeux, arbrisseau toujours vert symbole de vie, pousse sur le lieu où Aithalaha fut mis à mort, et son feuillage constitue un remède pour les malades — description d'une création renouvelée qui n'est pas sans rappeler Ez 47, 12³². On connaît bien, dans la littérature manichéenne, la présentation de Mani sous le jour d'un médecin habile, « le médecin venu du pays de Babel »³³, tout comme certains de ses disciples, dans une perspective comparative avec la mission de Jésus, et toujours dans une dimension spiritualisante³⁴. Or, si la référence au véritable médecin est toujours implicitement corrélée à la véritable doctrine, on comprend d'une part les échecs imputés à Mani par ses détracteurs à propos de ses tentatives de guérisons³⁵, et d'autre part

³⁰ Bidez / Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* I, p. 115-116, n. 4. G. Sfameni Gasparro souligne les rapports étroits entre médecine, religion et savoir-faire technique que sous-tend la pratique magique, Sfameni Gasparro, « Magie et magiciens », p. 242.

³¹ *Histoire des quarante martyrs*, Bedjan, *Acta martyrum* II, p. 346.

³² *Histoire d'Akebšema*, Bedjan, *Acta martyrum* II, p. 391. Relevons que cette thématique est perceptible dans des textes en persan d'époque médiévale, voir Krasnowolska, *Mythes, croyances populaires et symbolique animale dans la littérature persane*, p. 62-63.

³³ Selon l'expression du fragment M de Turfan M566, Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, p. 23.

³⁴ J. Kevin Coyle montre que le titre de médecin est étendu dans les textes manichéens à tous les membres de la communauté dans leur accomplissement des préceptes religieux de libération de la lumière, Coyle, *Manichaeism and Its Legacy*, p. 114-115; pour l'historiographie sur Mani médecin et les opinions controversées, voir p. 117, n. 75-78; Ort, *Mani, A Religio-historical Description of His Personality*, p. 95-101. Notons que l'idée de Mani véritable *medicus* est particulièrement valorisée dans les notices biographiques en moyen-perse et dans les passages parallèles du texte grec du *Codex manichéen de Cologne* qui pourrait avoir une origine syriaque; c'est ainsi souligner le milieu iranien dans lequel s'est développée l'image de Mani médecin devenue polémique. Mais le médecin est d'abord le titre du Christ, et les apôtres peuvent se prévaloir de cet héritage; pour les références aux *Actes de Judas Thomas*, Aphraate, Éphrem ou Marūtā, voir Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, p. 199-203; p. 90. Jullien / Jullien, *Les Actes de Mār Māri*, texte p. 44, n. 185. Pour le manichéisme, sur Jésus la Splendeur, voir Coyle, *Manichaeism and Its Legacy*, p. 111-114.

³⁵ La troisième Homélie copte du Fayoum ainsi que le fragment M3 de Turfan en moyen-perse se font l'écho des admonestations du roi Vahrām qui reproche au prophète babylonien

le positionnement anti-manichéen qui conduit certains écrivains syriaques à modeler leur héros en authentique médecin : ainsi la *Vie* de Daniel le médecin par exemple³⁶, ou les *Actes de Mār Māri* dans lesquels Māri apparaît comme un « brillant médecin »³⁷ capable, comme le Christ, de guérir sans drogues.

4. Une pratique-frontière

Guérir ou apporter un soulagement aux maux des populations est donc l'illustration d'une saine doctrine et devient un facteur de positionnement au sein de la société. Nous souhaiterions proposer l'analyse d'une pratique bien particulière et ambiguë en milieu syriaque, parfois perçue à la limite de la magie, révélatrice d'une médiation culturelle entre chrétiens et mazdéens : l'utilisation, à des fins curatives et souvent prophylactiques d'une « pâte de reliques » appelée *ḥnana* utilisée dans les Églises syriaques (essentiellement chez les Syro-orientaux)³⁸. Il s'agit d'une pâte élaborée avec de l'eau et de l'huile bénites auxquelles est mêlée une poussière d'ossements prise aux tombeaux des saints, spécialement des martyrs, et découpée en fines lamelles³⁹. Plusieurs épisodes tirés de la littérature monastique, hagiographique et chronographique permettent de mieux cerner cet usage que l'on peut qualifier à bien des égards de pratique-frontière : d'abord parce qu'elle se situe aux marges des pratiques liturgiques officielles ; ensuite en ce qu'elle constitue un trait d'union entre deux communautés religieuses en territoire iranien, frontière poreuse donc, contribuant à leur rapprochement. L'ambivalence entre bornage et échanges, propre à la notion de frontière, s'applique aux modalités d'emploi du *ḥnana*.

L'aspect de médiation est particulièrement clair dans les cas de guérison de mazdéens venus solliciter l'intercession d'un moine charismatique : la *Vie* syriaque de *Mār Awgin*, considéré comme l'implantateur du mona-

son incapacité à administrer drogues et médecines. Voir la traduction donnée par Henning, « Mani's Last Journey », *Selected Papers*, W.B. Henning. *Hommages et Opera Minora*, p. 951-952 ; Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, p. 37.

³⁶ *Vie de Daniel le médecin*, Bedjan, *Acta martyrum* III, p. 493-494. Sur les perspectives anti-manichéennes de ce texte, voir l'appréciation de Puech, *Le manichéisme*, p. 32, n. 100.

³⁷ Jullien / Jullien, *Les Actes de Mār Māri*, p. 40, § 28 ; trad. p. 44. Voir Jullien / Jullien, *Les Actes de Mar Mari, l'apôtre de la Mésopotamie*, p. 140-141.

³⁸ Cette thématique a fait l'objet d'une étude antérieure, abordée selon une autre approche, centrée sur le contexte liturgique. Jullien / Jullien, « Du *ḥenana*. Ou la bénédiction contestée », p. 333-348.

³⁹ Voir la recette donnée par le ms. Vatican sir. 18 signalée par Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* III/2, p. cclxxviii, reprise par Budge, *The Book of Governors* II, p. 600, n. 1 et par le grand dictionnaire de Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus* I, col. 1316.

chisme en Mésopotamie au IV^e siècle, met en scène par exemple un mage du nom de Pandaš, originaire de la ville de BIRTHA dans le Bēth-‘Arabāyē, qui, après avoir ingéré une potion à base de *ḥnana* que lui donne Mār Yareth disciple d’Awgin, se trouve guéri des calculs rénaux dont il souffrait⁴⁰. Le texte ne précise pas si ce zoroastrien se convertit après le miracle dont il bénéficie. Une situation similaire est perceptible dans l’histoire du solitaire Mār Asia dont le nom signifie justement « le médecin » : alors qu’il se rend à Antioche, il rencontre en chemin un émissaire du roi des Perses venu conclure la paix avec l’empereur romain ; pris d’une syncope devant lui, il tombe comme mort. Asia effectue alors une onction de *ḥnana* sur le messenger qui se rétablit⁴¹. Le contexte invite à situer l’événement vers 422, sous Vahrām V. Pour bien montrer l’influence bénéfique des communautés chrétiennes en milieu perse, l’hagiographe fait surrenchère en décrivant la guérison par le même procédé d’un des fils du roi des rois, du nom d’Hormizd.

La confection du *ḥnana* à partir des ossements des saints a suscité un certain nombre de réserves de la part des autorités ecclésiales soucieuses d’encadrer les moines charismatiques qui en usaient, et dont le rayonnement était réel auprès des populations locales, au-delà même de la communauté chrétienne. Au V^e siècle, l’évêque Rabbula s’opposa ainsi à la dispersion des reliques, à leur détention et usage privé, préconisant un regroupement dans les cimetières⁴². L’utilisation ambiguë du *ḥnana* fut à l’origine d’oppositions vigoureuses ; ainsi Théodore bar Koni qui, dans son *Livre des scholies* rédigé au VII^e siècle, s’insurge contre les dérives de ce qu’il assimile à des pratiques magiques à des fins souvent exorcistiques, comparant même *ḥnana* et amulette (*qamy’a*)⁴³. La *Chronique de Séert* rapporte à même époque la démarche de celui que les textes syriaques désignent comme le « prince des croyants », Yazdīn, un proche du roi Khosrau II, qui, pour obtenir d’un gouverneur qui lui était peu favorable une exemption d’impôts, n’hésita pas à solliciter de Rabban Siméon de Šenna du *ḥnana* protecteur⁴⁴. L’abondance des bols, coupes ou ustensiles à inscriptions incantatoires ou comportant des formules de protection retrouvées

⁴⁰ Ms. BL Add. 12147, fol. 253^v, Nau, « Résumé de monographies syriaques (suite) », 1914, p. 439.

⁴¹ Ms. BL Add. 12174, fol. 78^v (1197), Nau, « Résumé de monographies syriaques (suite) », 1915, p. 17-20, ici p. 19.

⁴² *Canons et résolutions canoniques*, § 21, Nau, « Les canons et les résolutions canoniques de Rabboula... », p. 85.

⁴³ Voir Théodore bar Koni, *Livre des scholies*, Hespel / Draguet, *Théodore Bar Koni. Livre des Scholies*, texte p. 22-23 ; *ibid.*, version p. 19-20.

⁴⁴ *Chronique de Séert*, Scher, *Histoire nestorienne inédite* II/2, p. 449 [129].

en Babylonie souligne l'ampleur de ce phénomène en milieu araméen dans l'Antiquité et le Haut Moyen-Âge⁴⁵. En contexte syriaque occidental au VI^e siècle, Zacharie le scholastique dans sa *Vie de Sévère d'Antioche* témoigne de l'expansion et de la popularité d'une littérature incantatoire dans les cercles intellectuels chrétiens hellénisés des grands pôles de formation du Proche-Orient, littérature qu'il désigne sous l'expression de « livres magiques » attribués à Zoroastre ou Ostanès⁴⁶. Ce contexte culturel constitue la toile de fond des mises en garde de Bar Koni qui manifeste ses réticences face au risque de paganisation d'une pratique en question, risque qu'accroissait un contact avec des religions étrangères au christianisme.

La littérature sacrée du mazdéisme condamne elle aussi le recours à ces moyens hors du champ de contrôle des autorités religieuses, faisant preuve d'intransigeance à l'endroit des magiciens et des pratiques jugées déviantes: la sorcellerie est bien définie comme un culte rendu à Ahri-mān⁴⁷, condamnée dans les discours normatifs des textes pehlevi sous l'étiquette de *jādūgīh*, désignation globale pour toute pratique hétérodoxe, considérée comme externe à la religion et associée au culte des démons⁴⁸. D'après le Livre du *Dēnkard*, Zoroastre l'aurait combattue en proposant des rites efficaces et spécifiques⁴⁹. Mais on a toutefois noté l'usage toléré des incantations et des talismans, très largement répandus dans l'Iran sassanide, pour contrer l'action des *daevas*⁵⁰. Shaul Shaked a montré comment la société zoroastrienne a contourné cette contradiction en faisant sous-

⁴⁵ Voir par exemple en milieu judaïque Naveh / Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, p. 13-38, 63-69, 124-133, 181-184. Si la hiérarchie manichéenne condamnait elle aussi la pratique et l'enseignement de la magie comme en témoignent par exemple les *Kephalaia* (*Keph.* 6, 31, 24b-33), Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, p. 35-36, Paul Mirecki a néanmoins relevé dans une lettre de l'oasis de Dakhlah en Égypte (P. Kell. Copt. 35), à Kellis, des allusions à des rituels magiques, expression d'un culte populaire répandu chez les manichéens, Mirecki, « Manichaean Allusions to ritual and magic: spells for invisibility in the coptic *Kephalaia* », p. 173-180. Ce document se rapproche dans son contenu des papyrus magiques grecs. Voir également BeDuhn, « Magical Bowls and Manichaeans » p. 419-434.

⁴⁶ *Vie de Sévère d'Antioche*, Kugener, *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le scholastique*, p. 57-70. J. Bidez et F. Cumont sont réservés quant à une attribution à Zoroastre, Bidez / Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II, p. 307, n. 1.

⁴⁷ Bidez / Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* I, p. 143. Voir la condamnation dans le *Bundahišn* (XXVIII, 4), West, *Pahlavi Texts* I, p. 106.

⁴⁸ Grenet, « Religions du monde iranien ancien II. Introduction à la magie sassanide », p. 150. F. Grenet souligne que le recours à la magie était un phénomène très largement répandu, touchant toutes les strates de la société iranienne sassanide, *ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴⁹ *Dēnkard* VII, 4, 72, Müller, *The sacred Books of the East* XLVII, p. 66-67; *Dēnkard* VII, 5, 8, *ibid.*, p. 75-76.

⁵⁰ Bidez / Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* I, p. 143 et n. 5.

traiter la fabrication d'objets magiques par d'autres groupes religieux⁵¹, en un processus d'externalisation.

Or, si cette pratique-frontière apparaît bien dans nos textes syriaques en médiation culturelle entre chrétiens et mazdéens, le recours de mazdéens à une pâte élaborée à partir d'ossements n'est pas sans soulever des interrogations en raison de l'impureté intrinsèque qu'ils véhiculent⁵². Ne faut-il imputer ces exemples qu'au seul fait d'hagiographes chrétiens désireux de situer leurs protagonistes dans une position d'autorité au sein d'une société qui les marginalise ? Le zoroastrien pouvait toutefois reconnaître une certaine valeur aux ossements, réceptacles de l'âme, et Philippe Gignoux a souligné l'importance vitale accordée aux os dans l'Iran ancien⁵³.

Un contexte religieux plus traditionnel pourrait peut-être expliquer que des mazdéens aient pu chercher à se procurer cette pâte de reliques. Un exemple. Lors d'une guérison opérée par le moine Hormizd, le narrateur fournit une précision qu'il nous faut relever : une femme lépreuse, après s'être ointe avec une potion de *hnana*, retrouve une peau nette, comme celle d'un nourrisson — et le texte donne le détail d'une nouvelle poussée des cheveux et des poils⁵⁴. Ce dernier détail est intéressant à replacer dans le cadre de la société mazdéenne : le recouvrement de la santé par la médiation de puissances surnaturelles préposées à cette croissance n'est pas sans évoquer l'influence des *fravašis*⁵⁵. D'après le *Yašt* XIII (10, 22), ces êtres bénéfiques associés à l'œuvre de création d'Ahurā-Mazda veillaient tout particulièrement à la formation des os, des poils et de la peau⁵⁶. La

⁵¹ Shaked, *Dualism in transformation: Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran*.

⁵² Tatien, auteur chrétien du II^e siècle originaire de l'Adiabène, mentionne dans son *Discours aux Grecs* une mixture, à la charnière de la magie et de la médecine, à base d'ossements et d'herbes proposée en remède contre les égarements de l'esprit, dont la recette est attribuée à la notoriété légendaire du mage Ostanès, Puech, *Recherches sur le Discours aux Grecs de Tatien*, p. 130. Voir aussi Bidez / Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* I, p. 189. Il s'agit peut-être d'un rite opéré dans le cadre d'un sacrifice. Le recours à des animaux sacrifiés, en particulier pour utiliser leur graisse, dans le cadre de rituels extra-ecclésiaux, est attesté par ailleurs ; voir par exemple Stophlet Flattery / Schwartz, *Haoma and Harmaline*, p. 90, § 137. Boyce, *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism*, p. 42.

⁵³ Gignoux, « "Corps osseux et âme osseuse" : Essai sur le chamanisme dans l'Iran ancien », p. 43, et Kellens, « Y a-t-il une âme osseuse ? », p. 157-160. Grenet, *Les pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie centrale sédentaire, de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation*.

⁵⁴ *Histoire de Rabban Hormizd le Perse*, Budge, *The Histories of Rabban Hōrmizd the Persian and Rabban Bar-'Idtā* I, p. 49-51 ; II, p. 73-76.

⁵⁵ Pour l'historiographie sur les *fravašis*, voir Kellens, « Les Frauuāšis », p. 99-114 ; Kellens, « Résumé des cours et travaux de la chaire de Langues et religions indo-iraniennes du Collège de France », p. 747-762.

⁵⁶ Sur la fonction cosmogonique des *fravašis*, voir *ibid.*, p. 753-755. Söderblom, *Les fravašis*, p. 34-35.

femme est ici soumise à un nouveau processus de création. Dans le cadre d'une histoire comparée, il faut souligner que l'usage de restes de saints personnages dans le processus de fabrication du *ḥnana* implique en premier lieu et avant tout un recours à leur propice intercession posthume.

Dans les cas d'enfantement, on retrouve pareillement l'idée que les *fravašis* accordent par leur intercession des enfants beaux et doués (*id.*; XIII, 4-8). Pour la majorité des textes étudiés, la rencontre interreligieuse se réalise suite à des demandes concernant des stérilités, et les auteurs se plaisent à souligner à chaque fois la grâce et les bonnes dispositions des enfants nouveau-nés. Une représentation picturale retrouvée dans la grotte de Ghulbiyan au sud-ouest de Bactres, datée du IV^e-V^e siècle de notre ère, est venue illustrer l'interaction entre le culte des *fravašis* et le processus d'enfantement; Frantz Grenet et Jonathan Lee interprètent clairement dans ce sens la scène d'une victoire ailée veillant sur un personnage féminin d'un entourage royal, qui paraît enceinte, victoire assimilée à la *fravaši* de l'enfant à naître, garante de sa croissance et de son ossature⁵⁷. La présence du terme *fravaši* dans certaines compositions onomastiques confirme bien cette fonction qui leur est attribuée: ainsi pour *[p]lwltyndwḥt'*, Fravardin-dux, patronyme féminin retrouvé sur un sceau par Philippe Gignoux (LG 60), signifiant « fille des *fravašis* »⁵⁸. La célébrité de Māh-anōš / Īšō'sabran gagne les environs du lieu où il est incarcéré, à Arbèles: un notable venu le visiter depuis le Bēth-Nuahadrā⁵⁹, à 200 km de là, sollicite sa faveur et obtient du *ḥnana*; trois ans plus tard, il lui présentera ses deux fils.

Dans leur fonction protectrice et médiatrice, les *fravašis* présidaient aussi à la santé des animaux, et c'est également l'un des motifs fréquemment invoqués pour obtenir du *ḥnana*. L'*Histoire de Rabban Bar 'Edta* raconte comment le *nakhvirgān* de Bēth-Gurbak, un village de la région de Ninive, envoya quérir la précieuse potion auprès d'un moine, Mebarak, disciple de Bar 'Edta, afin de remédier au mal qui affectait ses grands troupeaux de chameaux⁶⁰; la peste disparaît après aspersion — événement qui suscite non seulement des liens d'amitié durables entre le potentat et les frères du monastère, mais aussi une protection des familles chré-

⁵⁷ Lee / Grenet, « New Light on the Sasanid Painting at Ghulbiyan, Faryab Province, Afghanistan », p. 80, p. 82. Ils insistent sur l'agencement de cette fresque, qui valorise l'importance de la génération dynastique. J. Kellens a rappelé que les *fravašis* peuvent être considérés comme les génies tutélaires des cercles sociaux auxquels elles appartiennent, Kellens, « Résumé des cours et travaux », p. 758.

⁵⁸ Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique*, p. 86, n° 374.

⁵⁹ Chabot, « Histoire de Jésus-Sabran, écrite par Jésus-Yab d'Adiabène », p. 577; voir p. 498-499.

⁶⁰ *Histoire de Rabban Bar 'Edta*, Budge, *The Histories of Rabban Hōrmīzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-'Idtā* I, p. 135-136; II, p. 200-202.

tiennes des environs, ainsi qu'un mécénat exercé sur de longues années⁶¹.

La désignation polysémique du « magicien » dans notre documentation, tantôt sorcier, tantôt adepte d'une autre doctrine, tantôt médecin guérisseur, nous a conduit à mettre en lumière un procédé d'écriture en thématique inversée. Ces éléments de réflexion invitent d'une part à poser comme probable une influence de la littérature magique grecque en milieu syriaque oriental que pourraient trahir les récits hagiographiques. D'autre part, l'analyse des métaphores de langage autour de l'association poison/doctrine a permis de définir une méthodologie de l'hérésiographie des chrétiens syriaques consistant à projeter sur leurs détracteurs mazdéens — et c'est là l'originalité de ces textes — un débat interne, celui de leur propre discours de polémique avec les chrétiens hérétiques.

L'étude d'une pratique-frontière entre magie et liturgie a montré comment les chrétiens qui l'utilisèrent se sont posés en hommes de pouvoir et en acteurs influents de la vie sociale sur le territoire iranien, spécialement auprès des populations zoroastriennes ; mais elle montre surtout comment cet usage rituel, au-delà des modes d'écriture, a pu, en médiation culturelle, conduire à un dépassement des clivages religieux entre chrétiens et mazdéens.

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⁶¹ *Histoire de Rabban Bar 'Edta*, *ibid.* I, p. 145 ; II, p. 217.

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SUMMARY

"Magicians" in Syriac hagiographical documentation is a polysemic term which refers to those who profess a condemned doctrine, a sorcerer or maybe a physician. Greek magical literature probably influenced descriptions of this kind which one may note not only in the Mazdeans' polemics against Christians in the Sasanian Empire, but also in the Eastern Syrian Christians' polemical literature against heretics. The present article deals with the rapport between Christians and Mazdeans using the analysis of a very particular and ambiguous practice in the Syriac Christian *milieu*: the use of a mixture prepared from « martyrs' dust ». This study examines how Christians who used it appeared as men of power and mediators in the social life of Iran, specially among the Zoroastrian population.

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How is Nubian church architecture linked with the Near East, Armenia, Europe and with other African examples?

This author's recent scientific conclusions underline the fact that Nubian church architecture must be evaluated in the context of other early medieval architectural examples and developments, especially in the larger context of the Mediterranean theatre (Spain, France, Sardinia and Asia Minor) (fig. 1).

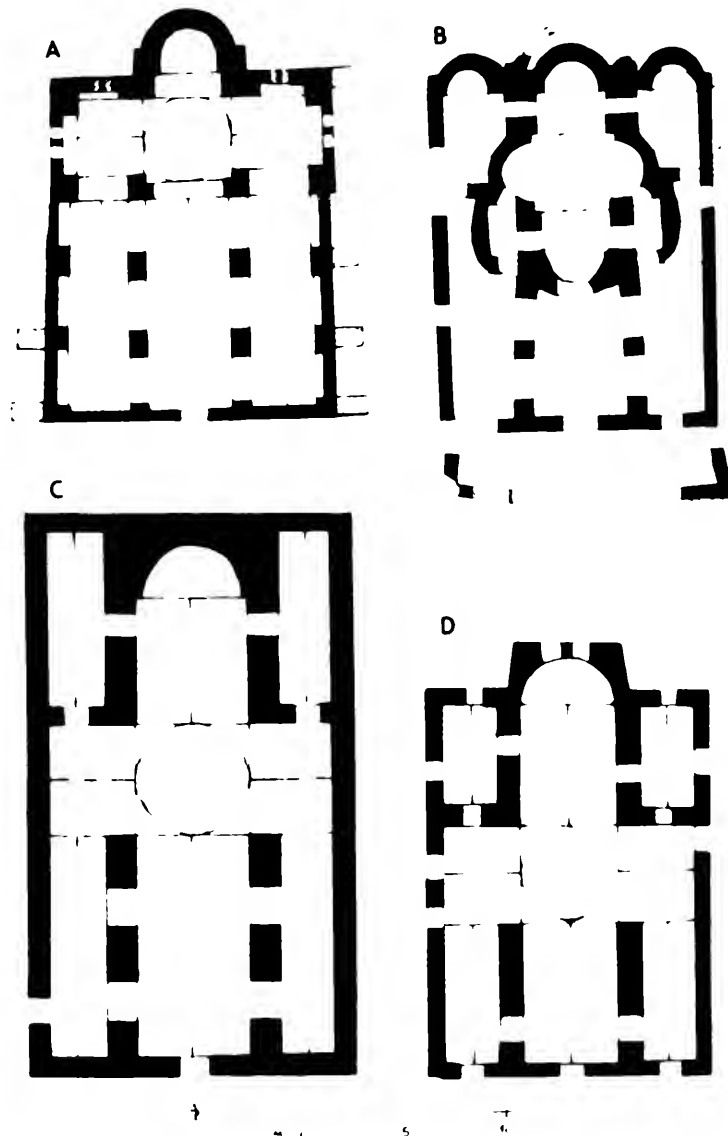


Fig. 1 – This is a typological group of post-Justinian Byzantine provincial churches. It displays a Mediterranean (A, Sinis, Sardinia) and Asia Minor (B, Iasos, Karia / C-Patara, D-Kydna, both in Lykia) array of church designs probably emerging from the “basilica with an annexed dome” (fig. 1A) layout (cf. Záh 2012). For the layout in Africa, compare also figs. 2-3 (below).

Its importance is growing, as more examples are discussed in the lively typological scientific debate within a larger Oriental context, required and developed further by the author of these lines ever since he presented his Ph.D. thesis in 2003 (Zäh 2003, "Zur Typologie kirchlicher Architektur im Südwestlichen Kleinasien"). Outlining and recognizing similarities through typological assembly and comparison can only be achieved by constantly adding new examples discovered in the course of field research, excavation and final comparison. This also shows the future importance of, and possibilities for an intended project to bring Nubian church architecture into a geographically widened typological discussion. Sometimes, striking similarities can be found which will pave the way for a new interpretation of the importance of the just recently discovered medieval Nubian churches in an international context. The spread, traceable so far, seems to offer proof of an important common cultural "Durchdringung" (pervasion) of this geographically large, medieval Christian cultural area in the Near East, which — as a future working hypothesis — has to be interpreted as a very interesting cultural "Großraum". This is the new way of interpreting the area that covers and overlaps with a relatively transparent and pervasive Islamic world in between Africa, the Near East, Armenia and Europe especially from the 8th and 9th centuries onwards, not limited by political or religious ideological borders. This may also indicate the possibility of existing cultural contacts not yet known or traced (especially those with Spain, Syria and Armenia which should deserve very special future attention). Furthermore, a proposed expanded study will open up new cultural historic perspectives and views on the importance of a so far largely unknown and unrecognized society, which surely went far beyond being an isolated existing culture or a small "cut off" community, as one might think. On the other hand, a very authentic development of Nubian church architecture with a very "autochthonous" touch may be seen in the architectural expression of Nubian monasteries¹. Unfortunately, Nubian art and architecture so far play no role in art history teaching in most of our universities. This is because the history of fine arts as a university topic especially deals with the Pre- / Early Romanesque, Romanesque and Gothic building styles still in a plain and outdated Eurocentric and not comparative manner, leaving such urgent tasks and questions concerning the medieval Near East and

¹ A typical example is displayed by: Gartkiewicz 1990 (as below), 103, fig. 49. Compare especially now the recently excavated monastery on site "Kom H" in Old-Dongola: Stefan Jakobielsky, "Das Kloster der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit. Bauphasen des nordwestlichen Anbaus," *Dongola-Studien* 2001, Teil 1, 141-168. For a general survey compare: Piotr Jeuté, "Monasteries in Nubia — An open issue," *Nubica* III.1 (1994), 59-97. For a helpful discussion on the topic I like to thank cordially Professor Piotr O. Scholz (Schlangenbad / Lublin).

African art, architecture and its interdependencies more or less as cultural “obscurities” to the anthropologist or ethnologist. For the purposes of this case sketch and short essay I have selected a few fresh examples to illustrate the urgent importance of further research into the topic. Highly interesting is a just recently discovered Nubian central domed church (“Upper church of Banganarti”, south of Old-Dongola, fig. 10)² and in contrast the newly identified post-Justinian Mediterranean building type of a basilica with a dome attached (compare fig. 1A-C / Zäh 2012)³. Both structural layouts are popular in the Mediterranean, as in Christianized Africa and especially in Nubia, as well.

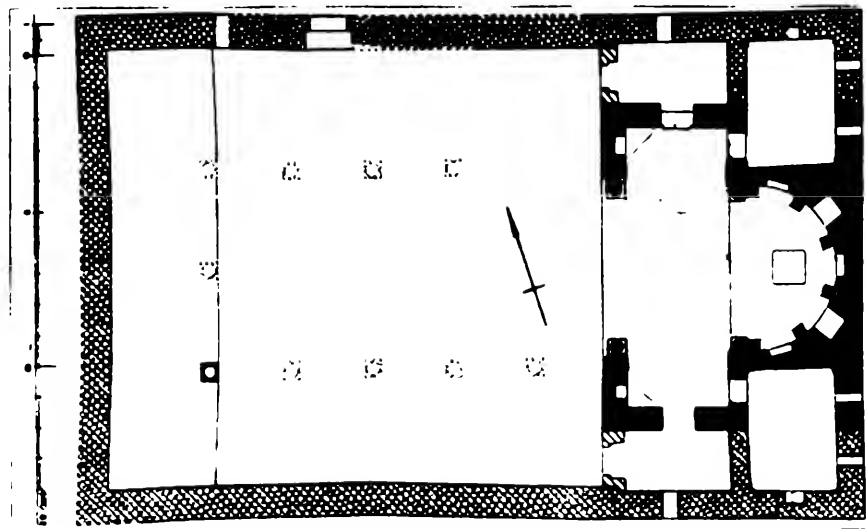


Fig. 2 – Abu Fano (Middle / Upper Egypt), Basilica with a dome, early 7th century (cf. Buschhausen 2003, based on Grossmann).

The basilica with a dome (a recently discovered post-Justinian building type is to be seen in the Mediterranean and Eastern Mediterranean, fig. 1) refers to a type of building which also can be found in Coptic (fig. 2)⁴ and Ethiopian medieval contexts up to the 12th / 13th centuries (fig. 3)⁵.

The development of these types seems to have been stimulated by the need to alter and extend the quite “simple” concept of a late ancient classical (wooden-roofed) basilica by adding a domed room. Most probably this type emerged and was developed because of the great medieval demand for a better display of painted items, which is much more possible in a

² Bogdan Żurawski, “Madonna of Bangarnati,” *Focus on Archeology* 1 (13) 2007, 28-31 [online].

³ Alexander Zäh, “Kleinasien und darüber hinaus!,” in Alexander Zäh, Josef Strzygowski [...], *Römische Quartalschrift* 107.2 (2012), 277-283, Abb. 2-4.

⁴ Compare its plans in Helmut Buschhausen, “Die Obere Kirche in Dayr Abu Fano in Mittelägypten. Probleme der Restaurierung und Wiederherstellung,” *Steine Sprechen* 126 (Wien 2003), 1-20, 8-9 (Abb. 19-23).

⁵ Georg Gerster, *Kirchen im Fels. Entdeckungen in Äthiopien*, Zürich / Freiburg i. Brsg. 1972, 109-115, Abb. 75.

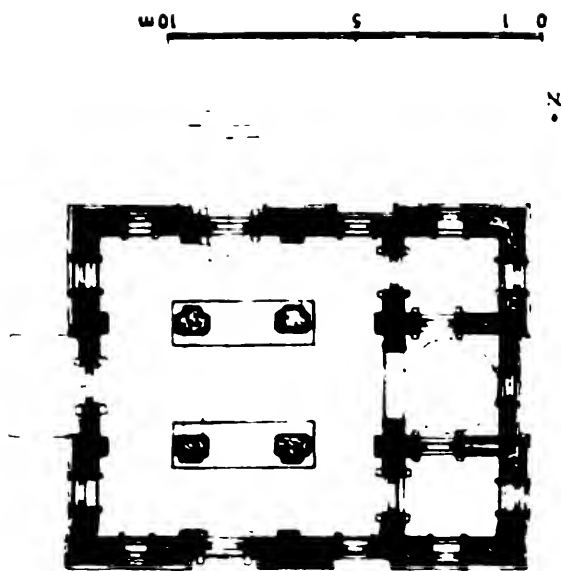


Fig. 3 – Ethiopian basilica with a dome (12th / 13th century) located at Yemrehanna Krestos (cf. Gerster 1972, based on: Bianchi-Barriviera).

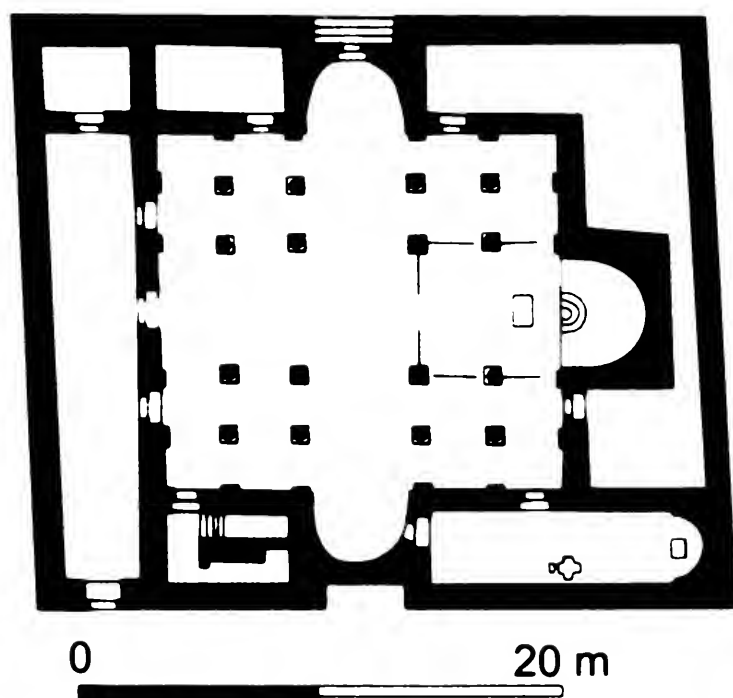


Fig. 4 – Nubia / Old-Dongola, cathedral church (early 8th-century context), informal sketch (see Gartkiewicz, in *Dongola-Studien* 2001).

church equipped with a dome (especially for paintings of Christ Pantokrator or the Virgin Mary or the display of “aniconic” crosses). In most cases the domed part of the building appears annexed to an existing basilica structure, which may have originated in earlier, later rebuilt, structures. Once erected, of course, the latter lasted a long time over a wide geographical range and on very different scales (compare in fig. 1C, a church from Patara in Lykia, with the Ethiopian church example, fig. 3). However, during the Middle Ages this type existed (as far as south as Ethio-

pia), along with a more dome-centered development, which is found in Nubia, dating apparently from the 9th century onwards (figs. 7, 10, 12).

Most Nubian churches earlier, even if following a central plan, seem to have been covered with wooden roofs on the basis of tie-beam constructions.

In Old-Dongola (the capital of the medieval Christian kingdom of Makuria) an originally Syrian style wide-arcade longitudinal basilica was completely pulled down at the beginning of the 8th century and turned into a new building with a central plan (fig. 4), equipped with an annexed longitudinal baptistery, the so-called “Church of the granite columns (the cathedral)”⁶. This

⁶ Survey of the so far localized and partly excavated churches of Old-Dongola: Stefan Jakobielsky, “35 Years of Polish excavations at Old Dongola. A factfile,” in Stefan Jakobielsky Piotr O. Scholz (Hrsg.), *Dongola-Studien. 35 Jahre polnischer Forschungen im Zentrum des Makurtischen Reiches*, Teil 1-2, Warschau – Wiesbaden 2001, Teil 1, 1-48, 9, fig. 4 (“The Old Church” / Lit.); 10, fig. 5 (“Cathedral”). For an extensive general survey on Nubian literature see also: *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* 6 (2005), 1046-1258, s. v. Nubien (M. Restle). The detailed excavation monograph of the cathedral is: Przemysław M. Gartkiewicz, *The cathedral in Old Dongola and its antecedents*, Nubia I, Dongola 2, Warschau / Warsaw 1990.

impressive church is a later variant of an older Syro-Armenian late 5th-century concept, but with a five-aisled layout (instead of the three-aisled structured edifices shown below, figs. 5, 6a/b). The three-aisled basilica type with an inner crossing is also known from further early Christian examples and was an established feature⁷.

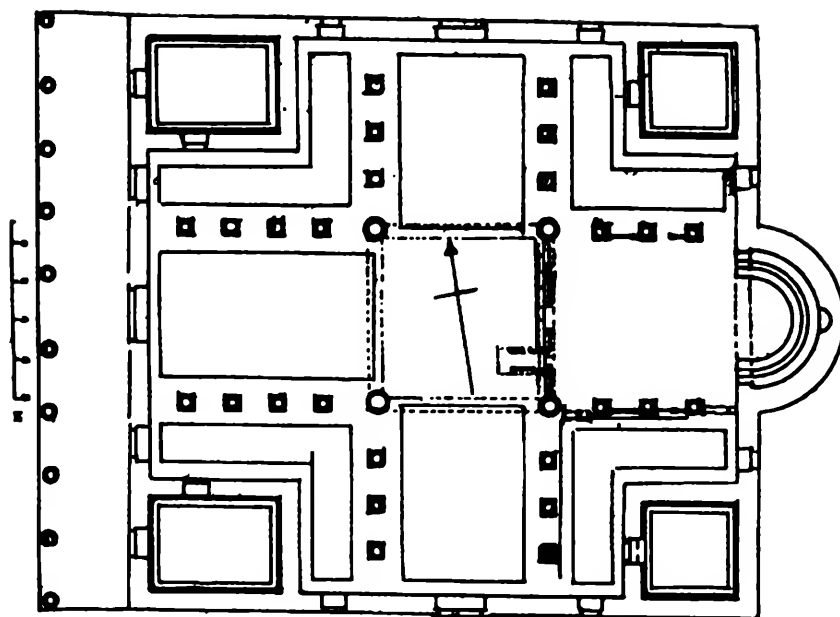


Fig. 5 – Jordan: Gerasa, church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs / 464 A.D. (after Davies).

However, the Nubian example functions with its five-aisled layout as the definitive “leader” of this architectural group in the general international context both in size and also in complexity. A church, at this stage, was most probably equipped with a wooden tie-beam roofing concept and a central roof or a tie-beam crossing⁸. Such concept changes are very well documented in further examples, such as the cathedral of Faras (now an underwater site north of Old-Dongola), originally a plain rectangular basilica church with columns, which had also been changed into an inner cruciform-column layout in 707 A.D. (probably inspired by the concept shown in fig. 4 and following the regional pattern of fig. 5). Exactly along the lines of the later monument history of the cathedral of Old-Dongola, this structure was changed again into a brick pillar-equipped cross-in-square domed church at some point in the 10th century⁹. These changes seemed to be needed at last, after the erection of a new monumental domed structure in Old-Dongola town, namely the enormous cruciform-church in the 9th century (fig. 9) and a smaller cross-in-square domed structure (fig. 7). Thereafter the large domeless cathedral structure seemed to appear completely out of date. Nor did it live up to the high expectations of church decoration required at the time for the display of

⁷ For further examples of such an early inner cruciform basilica type design and the development in general, see e.g.: Samuel Guyer, *Grundlagen frühmittelalterlicher abendländischer Baukunst*, Einsiedeln – Zürich – Köln 1950, 39 (Abb. 4.a Salona, 4.b Gerasa). For Gerasa see, e.g.: ODB 2 (1990) 845, s. v. *Gerasa* [Lit.] (Marlia Mundell – Mango). J. G. Davies, *The origin and development of early Christian church architecture*, London 1952, 245, fig. 186 (plan = fig. 5).

⁸ As suggested by Peter Grossmann, in: *Dongola-Studien* 2001, Teil 2, 390.

⁹ Stefan Jakobielsky, “Die Baugeschichte der Kathedrale von Faras,” in Wilfried Seipel (Hrsg.), *Faras. Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand*, Wien 2002, 36-39, 149 (Grundriß).

obligatory painted items. Because of this, the large building was again redesigned and altered into a domed structure in the 10th and 11th centuries and was in use until the 14th century¹⁰. However, the initial plan type has its origins in Armenia with the church in Etchmiadzin (fig. 6a, probably late 5th century in origin)¹¹ and can also be found in a pre- / early Romanesque context at Germigny-des-Prés in France (fig. 6b). The same development and phenomenon of the alteration of existing monuments occurs as a parallel in the Byzantine empire¹², where this development led to the elaboration of the genuine cross-in-square domed church ("Kreuzkuppelkirche")

5th century plan

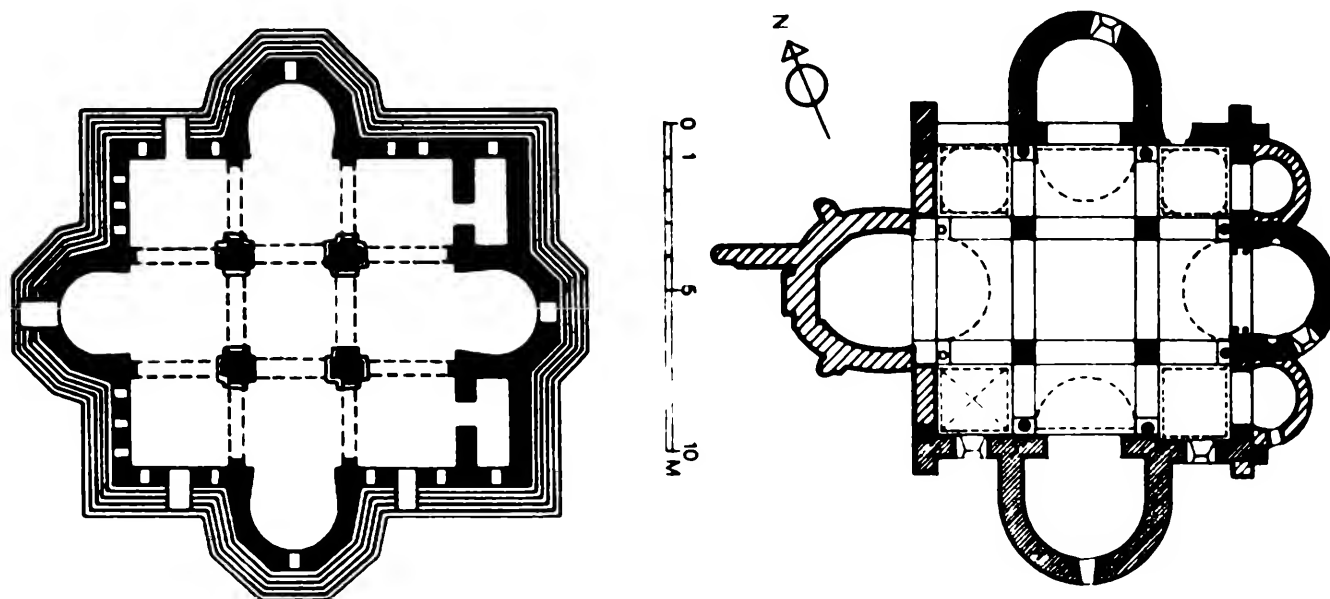


Fig. 6a – Armenia: Etchmiadzin, cathedral 5th-century (post 482 A.D.) concept (cf. Khatchatrian¹³, restored in the early 7th century¹⁴) / fig. 6b – France: Germigny-des-Prés (early 9th century)¹⁵.

¹⁰ On these changes: Gartkiewicz 1990 (as above), Genesis of the new arrangement, 295-299, 296 (fig. 179a/b). It is highly questionable, if all vaulting compartments beside the central-domes of the Faras and Dongola cathedrals can be reconstructed as shown here with small domes. Compare also: *Ibidem*, 286 (fig. 168). Barrel vaulted solutions also seem possible and probable. For European and Egyptian parallels compare the discussion of Gartkiewicz (as above), 292f. (fig. 171c / figs. 172-173).

¹¹ For Etchmiadzin compare: Annegret Plontke-Lüning, *Frühchristliche Architektur im Kaukasus*, Wien 2007, 168-173, 341-345 (Lit.), Taf. 227-229. The view of Peter Grossmann in *Dongola-Studien* 2001, 391 "[...] Etschmiadsin ist kaum vor dem 7. Jh. anzusetzen [...]" (based on: Bock) has to be definitively rejected, also because of the historical record.

¹² Robert Ousterhout, "Buildings that change," in R. Ousterhout, *Master builders of Byzantium*, Princeton 1999, 86-127.

¹³ Armen Khatchatrian, *L'architecture arménienne paléochrétienne*, Paris 1976, 67-86, fig. 105.

¹⁴ Khatchatrian, fig. 78a.

¹⁵ See for images: Xavier Barral i Altet, *Frühes Mittelalter. Von der Spätantike bis zum Jahr 1000*, Köln 1997, 140-143 (Abb.).

with a crossing of four free-standing columns or piers) with its first dated example in the 10th century (the “Lips-monastery” church in Constantinople from 907)¹⁶, a date which indicates the complete establishment of this popular type at this time, which (as Nubia now illustrates) was finally established at last in the 9th century in the whole “Oriens Christianus” and in a much broader geographical context than is known so far. Not surprisingly, this type and building trend in its pure form can also be traced in Nubian church architecture with further new examples, such as the recently (1994-1995) partly excavated “Pillar church” (PC) at Old-Dongola¹⁷. The church

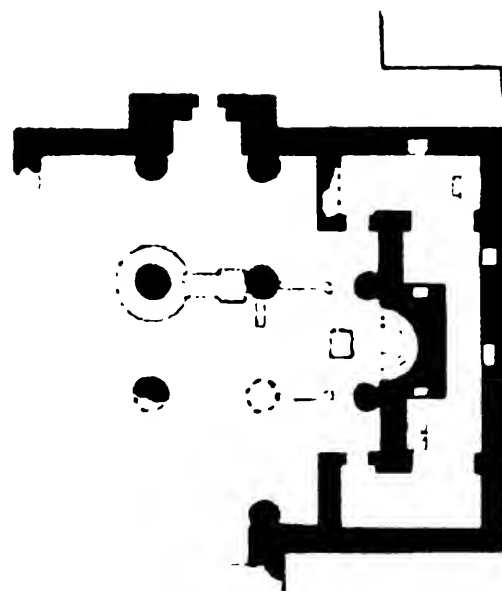


Fig. 7 – Nubia / Old-Dongola, “Pillar church” (9th-century context) partly excavated cross-in-square structure (genuine “Kreuzkuppelkirche”), informal sketch (after Godlewski, in *Dongola-Studien* 1, 7, fig. 2).

(fig. 7) shows four free-standing circle-shaped brick pillars as its crossing serving as an obvious barrel vaulted domed cross-in-square solution, which reflects this new building trend in Africa as well, following or being a parallel to the common Mediterranean and Byzantine church building practice and development at the time. A parallel example from Asia Minor (fig. 1D, a church from Kydna, Lykia) shows an alteration possibility of this cross-dome concept (without any piers or pillars) in the Near East.

The establishment of churches with a cruciform plan, or featuring an inside crossing built with piers or columns as well, is a phenomenon which follows up building patterns of far older churches established as early as the 5th century. These ancient derivatives erected in early medieval contexts are traceable in Europe as well in Pre- and Early Romanesque architecture. Let us take an Hispanic example (the 7th-century chapel of São Fructuoso, Braga, Portugal, fig. 8a/b)¹⁸, which is a slightly altered copy of the 5th-century mausoleum of “Galla Placidia” in Ravenna and the above-mentioned French example (Germigny-des-Prés, erected in an early 9th-century context, fig. 6b), which follows an earlier 5th-7th-century Armenian building type here (fig. 6a). The cruciform memorial or mausoleum church (fig. 8a)

¹⁶ Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen 1977, 126-131. Ousterhout 1999, 108-109, figs. 80-81.

¹⁷ Jakobielsky, in *Dongola-Studien* (2001), 7, fig. 2 (Lit.).

¹⁸ H. Schlunk – Th. Hauschild, *Hispania Antiqua. Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit*, Mainz 1978, 209-211.

or baptistery chapel beside it is an established early Christian building pattern which can be found in the whole "Oriens Christianus" (especially Asia Minor¹⁹ and Armenia²⁰) and in Europe²¹ as well.

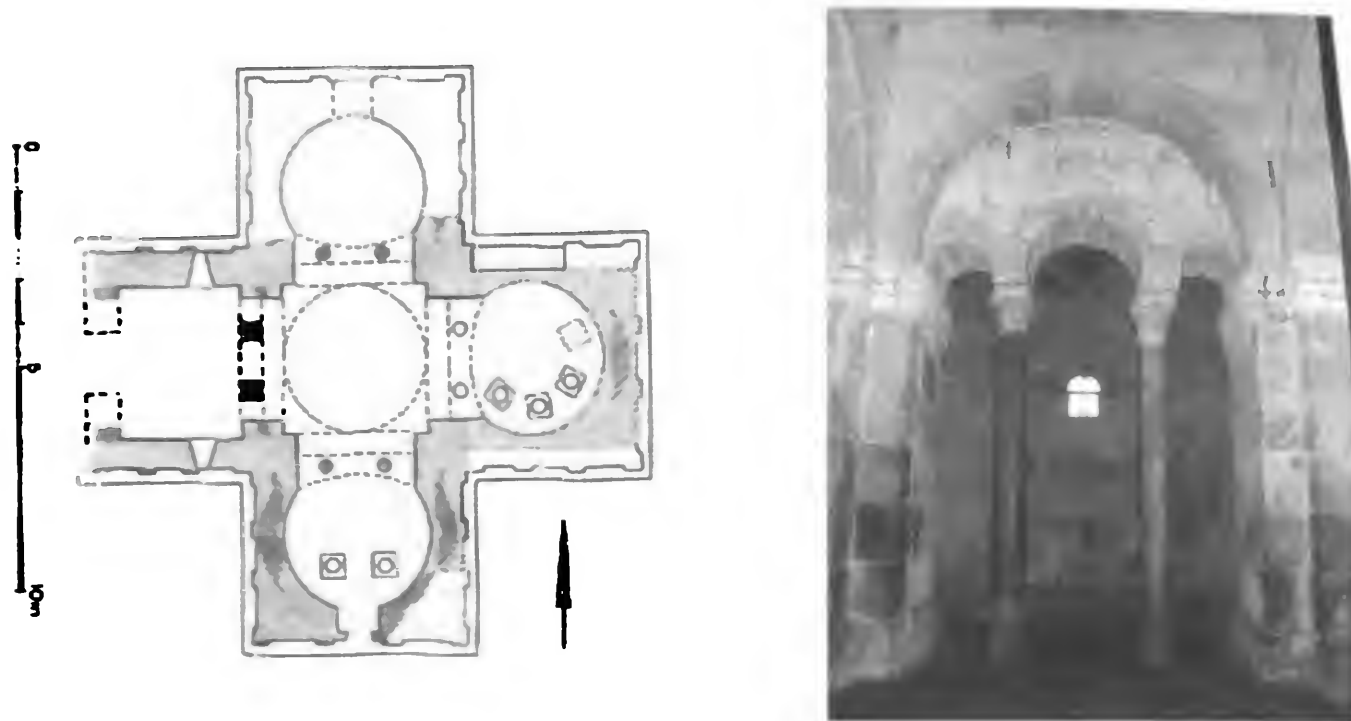


Fig. 8a/b – Portugal: Braga, São Fructuoso (7th century): Memorial church (mausoleum), ground plan (after Schlunk / Hauschild 1978), interior view with arcade, looking north.

A probable landmark for the genesis of the center domed buildings in Nubia is the erection of the stunning cruciform monumental church of Old-Dongola, which took place at some point in the middle of the 9th century²². The church had an interesting architectural feature, common also in Europe, namely a two-storey arcade walk-through solution, which leads into the central domed room via the entrance rooms in the arms of the impressive cross-structure.

So here we have a more or less "Justinian" feature reminiscent of the walk-through choir solution at "San Vitale" in Ravenna (6th century). Examples like this are also comparable to the smaller-scale and pre-existing one-storey variant at "São Fructuoso" in Portugal (compare fig. 8b). More-

¹⁹ Guyer 1950, 45 (Abb. 5), 58 ff.

²⁰ For the huge number of Armenian examples see e.g. the assembly of: Plontke-Lüning 2007, "Kreuzbauten" 364 ff., Taf. 70, 78.2, 80, 113.5, 123, 132 (Church of "Steppan" at Lmbatavank, p. 289, excellent preserved edifice of the 6th/7th century!), 134, 189, 247. Guyer, Abb. 7.d = "Steppan" at Lmbatavank (after: Strzygowski 1918).

²¹ Guyer 1950, 35, (Abb. 3), 58 ff., 61 (Abb. 7).

²² Jakobielsky, in *Dongola-Studien* (2001), 13 f., fig. 8 (Lit.). The constructional features of the supposed dome, based on the archaeological evidence of the past excavations have to be cross-checked for a proper future reconstruction.

over, both established building concepts (plan and wall design²³) apparently stimulated and influenced this Nubian unique monumental design greatly, outdoing all known forerunners.

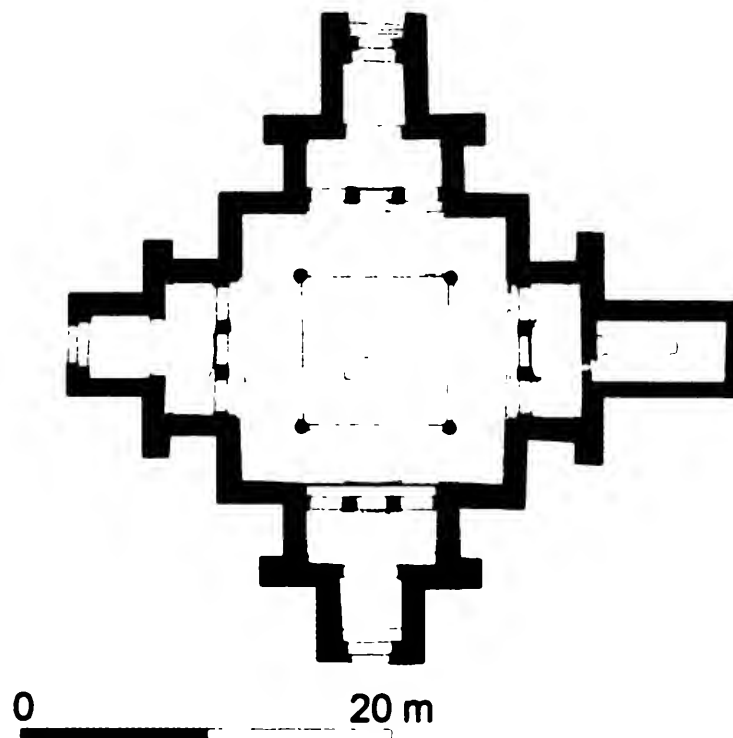


Fig. 9 – Nubia / Old-Dongola, monumental cruciform church (9th century), ground plan with additional vaulting concept (informal sketch, see Godlewski, in *Dongola-Studien* 2001).

As with the cathedral, the cruciform church came to be the formal “leader” of all known examples of its type so far, both in size and in concept, showing the high quality of Nubian church architecture according to international evaluation within the proposed cultural “Großraum”, to be outlined further. However, in the style and under the influence of the erection of this new building of great importance, the “old” cathedral of Old-Dongola (fig. 4) was subsequently completely altered into a domed structure with the addition of 22, or rather 24 (the number 22 seems to be unlikely and has to be cross-checked in the light of archaeological evidence)²⁴ massive brick pillars flanking the crossing of the main aisles around the turn of the 10th until the 11th century²⁵. Whether international Oriental and European in-

²³ On the development of such medieval arcaded wall concepts in church building compare: Hans Sedlmayr, “Das erste mittelalterliche Architektursystem,” in Hans Sedlmayr, *Epochen und Werke*, Bd. 1, Wien 1959 (München ²1985), 80-139, 359-360.

²⁴ The plans of Gartkiewicz 1990 (as above), 103 (fig. 70), 262 (fig. 152), 286 (fig. 186), 289 (fig. 169.1/2) show a striking discrepancy for the eastern part of the building in question.

²⁵ The chronology is summarized by Grossmann, in *Dongola-Studien*, Teil 2, 391ff. The date “end of 8th century” given here must be an error, compared with the statement of Jakobielsky, in *Dongola-Studien* 2001, Teil 1, 10, who puts the edifice “pre 707” in connection with the date of the cathedral of Faras, based also on Gartkiewicz’s conclusions (as above), 8.

fluences might have played a role in such a layout is questionable²⁶. Around the same time, as mentioned above, the concept of the cathedral of Faras was also changed and in the alteration acquired a dome, sub structured by 4 cruciform brick piers. The Nubian medieval trend towards the establishment of other center-domed buildings continued steadily²⁷ and is also presently documented thanks to the astonishing find and excavation of the “Upper church of Banganarti” (possibly a pilgrimage center) some 10 kms. south of Old-Dongola (fig. 10)²⁸.



Fig. 10 – Nubia / Banganarti, “Upper church” 9th-century alteration with new (dome substructure) crossing of heart-shaped brick-piers, main aisle, looking East (after Żurawski 2007).

This building and numerous other later Nubian examples (e.g. fig. 12) show striking concept parallels to the pre- / early Romanesque churches in Spain (fig. 11a/b), e.g. with “Santa Maria del Melque”²⁹ or “San Pedro de la

²⁶ This is only marginally and vaguely sketched so far by: Gartkiewicz 1990 (as above) 227-246, 285-294.

²⁷ For North-Nubian examples see in general: F. W. Deichmann – P. Grossmann, *Nubische Forschungen*, Berlin 1988. Compare also: Fred Aldsworth, *Qasr Ibrim. The Cathedral Church*; with contributions from Hans Barnard, Paul Drury, and Przemysław Gartkiewicz, London 2010.

²⁸ Żurawski 2007, “Madonna of Bangarnati,” as above.

²⁹ Achim Arbeiter – Sabine Noack-Haley, *Hispania Antiqua. Christliche Denkmäler des frühen Mittelalters. Vom 8. bis ins 11. Jh.*, Mainz 1999, 89-94, Abb. 41.

Nave" (both from the end of the 7th century or early 8th century)³⁰. Here, besides constructional similarities, stylistic similarities have to be taken into consideration, especially the heart-shaped columns of the center crossing of the "Upper church" (fig. 10), also occurring in different examples in Spain (e.g. fig. 11.a).

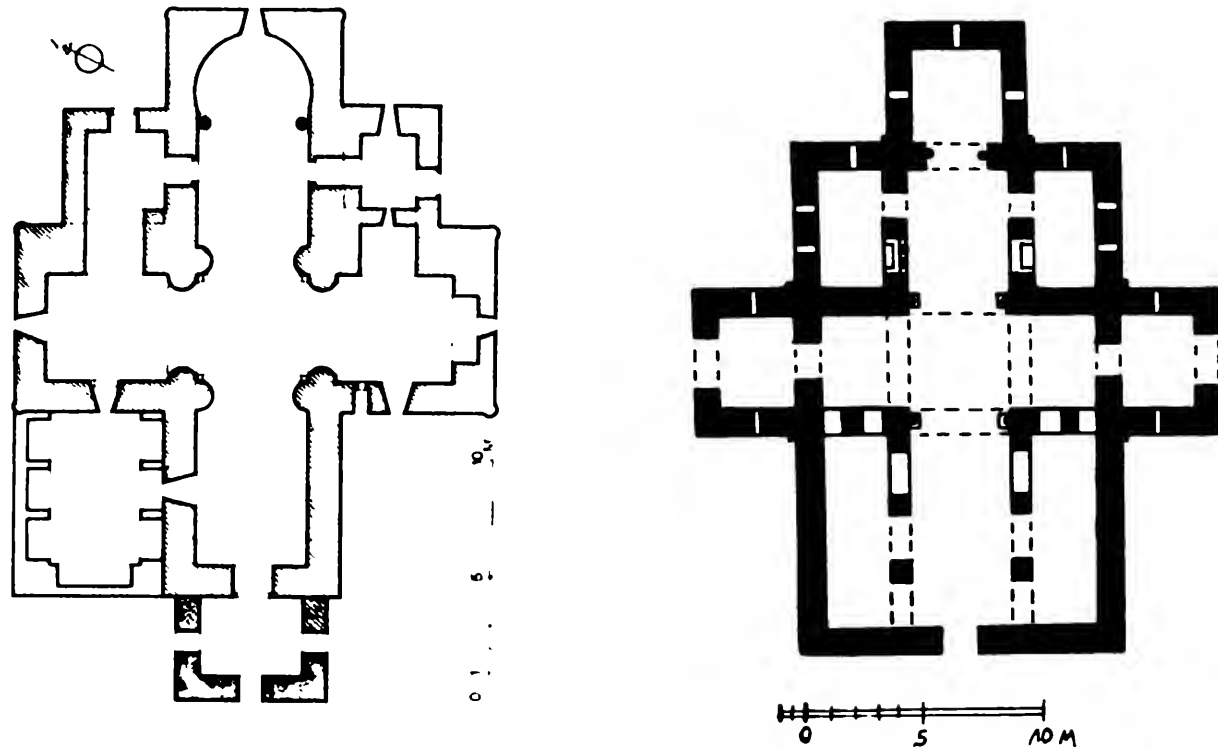


Fig. 11a – Spain: Melque, Santa Maria (ca. 24,8 × 21 m, cf. after Arbeiter / Haley-Noack 1999) / fig. 11b – Spain: Zamora, San Pedro de la Nave (ca. 20,96 × 17,60 m, cf. Frischauer 1930) – 7th / 8th centuries.

As a closing statement for the moment it can be said that Nubian church architecture appears in many respects as the missing link leading to a better understanding of the origin, spread and establishment of post-ancient early medieval church designs especially in connection with that of Europe and has to be explored further. Future surveys, excavations and detailed documentation will make it possible to draw up better and more precise reconstructions (CAD) and visible layouts which will secure a better understanding of the edifices and their surrounding international geographically wide-ranging cultural contexts. Explaining Nubian church architecture by concentrating first on Egyptian (Coptic) influences alone is surely not enough³¹. More than that point of view must be taken into account.

³⁰ Schlunk – Hauschild 1978, 223-227. See also: Alina Stephanie Frischauer, *Der Altspanische Kirchenbau*, Berlin und Leipzig 1930, 40 (Abb. 50 = "Melque"), 47 (Abb. 60 = "San Pedro").

³¹ Grossmann, in *Dongola-Studien* 2001, Teil 2, 390f. repeats his "egyptocentrism", *ibid.* 393.

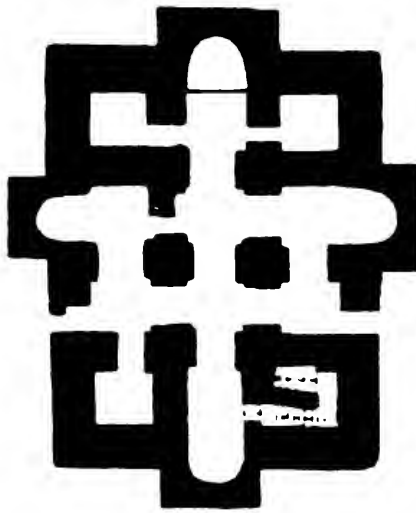


Fig. 12 – Nubian medieval church (19,2 × 15 m, 12th century), the so-called “North-West church” in Old-Dongola, following an earlier building pattern, very well known from examples in Spain (see figs. 11.a/b), an informal sketch (after Medeksza, in *Dongola-Studien* 2001, 21, fig. 14).

SUMMARY

Late ancient and medieval Nubian church architecture is a lesser known structural element in Christian art history in Africa and in the Near East and must be evaluated in relation to the churches which were built and whose style evolved in the wider Mediterranean theatre, especially in Armenia and Syria. On the one hand, architectural particularities are noticeable in monastic buildings but on the other, many parallels with other traditions may be detected, and this provides the stimulus for exploring Nubia in a new way.

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Demons Gone Wild: An Introduction, and Translation of the Syriac *Qenneshre Fragment*¹

Around the year 1480, at the Monastery of Mar Gabriel of Qartmin, the Miaphysite scribe Jesus, son of the priest Isaiah, finished writing a 129 folio Syriac and Karshuni manuscript.² Amidst works of Ephrem, Jacob of Serug, anonymous chronicles, and ancient biographies, Jesus included in his codex a hagiography that would eventually become known as the *Qenneshre Fragment*. In recent years Syriac Christianity has become renowned for its extensive hagiographical tradition.³ Nevertheless, even among Syriac sources, the *Qenneshre Fragment*'s story of possessed monks, miraculous relics, re-embodied saints, tortured demons, and a cross-wielding Muslim emir still stands out.

Despite its colorful plot, modern scholars have almost completely ignored the *Qenneshre Fragment*. Since the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin acquired Jesus' manuscript in the nineteenth century, only three researchers have directly examined the text: in 1899 Edward Sachau devoted two pages of his catalogue to summarizing its contents, in 1907 François Nau made a hasty edition and French translation of its folios, and in 1992, after consulting the manuscript and noting the inadequacies of Nau's earlier work, Gerritt Reinink published a brief article entitled: "Die Muslime in

¹ A special thanks to the many people who have commented on this article, especially Chip Coakley and Lucas Van Rompay who years ago both read through this text with me and put up with my fascination for its demons. The responsibility for all mistakes, of course, remains my own.

² Sachau 315, f. 108b. Fortunately, Jesus included a note indicating his name, provenance, and a composition date of 1792 according to the Seleucid calendar (1480/1481 C.E.). It remains likely that this scribe is the man more commonly known as Rabban Yeshu' of Baisbrina (d. 1492), a prolific author and copyist at Qartmin. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, second revised edition, Matti Moosa, transl. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003), 501-502; Rudolf Macuch, *Geschichte der spät- und neusyrischen Literatur* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), 21.

³ For a brief overview of Syriac hagiography see Sebastian P. Brock, "Saints in Syriac: A Little-Tapped Resource," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16 (2008): 181-196; Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Martyr Passions and Hagiography," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 603-627.

einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten des Klosters von Qennesrin."⁴

The *Qenneshre Fragment*'s overall value, however, far exceeds the mere interest of its plot and its occasional citation by modern scholars. Most likely written around the eighth-century, the *Qenneshre Fragment* shows how ancient Syriac Christians employed what we might characterize as a fantastical and humorous story to forward a very serious agenda.⁵ In just a few pages, the author weaves together a set of tales that defends Miaphysite Christology, ascetic practices, the cult of relics, and the veneration of the cross and serves as a polemical indictment of Judaism, of competing branches of Christianity, and of Islam.

Especially as Syriac studies often concentrates on the theological poetry of the fourth through sixth centuries, the examination of post-conquest Syriac prose presents a different perspective on the dynamics of Syriac Christianity. The *Qenneshre Fragment* provides a glimpse at Middle Eastern Christians creatively responding to the political and religious challenges brought about by the Islamic conquests. It also serves as one of many possible illustrations for how Syriac Christian self-definition was solidified not only by the *Hochliteratur* of writers like Ephrem and Aphrahat, but also by anonymous, fragmentary, confusing, and even error filled narratives like this work that Jesus son of Isaiah so fortuitously preserved.

Unfortunately, Nau's 1907 edition of the *Qenneshre Fragment* contains more than forty inaccuracies. Some of these are simply typographical mistakes. Others most likely resulted from Nau consulting a poor reproduction of the manuscript. Many stem from Nau's tendency to move later marginalia into the main text without notation. The majority of these have little effect on how one reads the document. Some, however, have inadvertently misrepresented the plot or substantially change how one interprets this text and its historical context. As a result, what is already a confusing text, has been rendered occasionally incomprehensible. In order to make this important hagiography more widely accessible, it seems appropriate to provide a new, more accurate, edition of the Syriac text as well as its first English translation. Although by no means exhaustive, I have also included a brief introduction as well as critical notes accompanying the edition and translation so as to better contextualize this work.

⁴ E. Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin: A. Asher & co, 1899), 2.523-524; François Nau, "Notice historique sur le monastère de Qartamin, suivie d'une note sur le monastère de Qennešré," in *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des orientalistes, Alger 1905, Part 2* (Paris: 1907), 114-135; Gerrit J. Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten des Klosters von Qennesrin," in *VI Symposium Syriacum 1992*, ed. René Lavenant (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1994), 335-346.

⁵ For a discussion of humor in Syriac hagiographies see Jeanne-Nicole Saint-Laurent, "Humour in Syriac Hagiography," *Studia Patristica* (forthcoming).

A Demonic Tale

The *Qenneshre Fragment* narrates an incident in the history of the North Syrian monastery of Qenneshre. Founded in the early sixth century, this monastery became a renown center for Greek learning producing such luminaries as Severus Sebokt, Thomas of Haraclea, and Jacob of Edessa.⁶ The monastery of Qenneshre, however, became famous for another reason as well. According to later tradition, it was subject to a mid-seventh-century demon infestation.

Two medieval texts, the *Chronicle ad 1234* and the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) both give accounts of this episode. The *Chronicle ad 1234* explains that magicians in a neighboring town discovered a bronze figurine that contained sixty thousand demons. The magicians transferred these demons to the monks of Qenneshre. The possessed monks started insulting the saints with slurs such as “long-bearded,” (in reference to John bar Aphtonia) and “dried up, beardless one” (Ephrem).⁷ Michael the Syrian presents another version of this story. A magician sent demons into a monk who killed the magician’s dog and into other monks who swam in ponds outside the monastery of Qenneshre instead of attending to the divine offices. In response to these possessions, Daniel of Edessa obtained the right hand of the deceased Severus of Samosata in order to exorcize the possessed Qenneshre monks.⁸

Michael the Syrian states that he came across this story in the no longer extant *Chronicle* of the Miaphysite patriarch Dionysius of Tel Maḥre (d. 845). The *Chronicle ad 1234* also often relied on Dionysius’s *Chronicle* and it is almost certain that Dionysius’s work was his source for this anecdote as well. So at least by the mid-ninth century, no less an authority than the head of the Syrian Miaphysite church was acquainted with the monastery’s demonic reputation. Whether through Dionysius’s account, or more likely independently, whoever compiled the *Qenneshre Fragment* was also familiar with one or more versions of this demonic tale and used it to form the central trope for his narrative.

Unfortunately, our copy of the resulting work is not as complete as the one Jesus originally copied; we are missing a number of folios before and after the surviving pages so the modern reader must begin part way

⁶ For an overview of the history of the Monastery of Qenneshre and the influence of its scholars particularly see, Jack Tannous, *Syria Between Byzantium and Islam: Making Incommensurables Speak* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton, 2010), 341-346.

⁷ *Chronicle ad 1234* (J.-B. Chabot, *Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens. I. Praemisum est Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinens*, CSCO 81/ Syr.36 [Louvain: 1920], 267-268).

⁸ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.7 (J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, vol. 4 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1910), 420-421).

through the story and the text ends before completing the tale. The extant narrative starts in the midst of what originally was a larger story concerning Theodore, the Miaphysite Patriarch of Antioch (d. 667). Theodore tells of his encounter with a saint scourging a man possessed by a demon. Theodore asks one of the friends of the possessing demon (the friend also being a demon, of course) if the ascetic is torturing the demon himself or the demoniac who is possessed by the demon. The demon friend tells Theodore that it is the demon who is being tortured. After the saint pounds the demon's head with a hammer of fire, the demon flees.

The narrative now moves to a series of episodes each sharing a similar structure: A deceased saint (or at least a relic from a saint) comes to the monastery, one or more demons insult the saint, the saint tortures the insolent demons, and the story then shifts to another saint. The first episode speaks of Athanasius, the Miaphysite patriarch of Antioch (d. 631). Like many of the characters in the *Qenneshre Fragment*, by the time of the story's setting, Athanasius has already been dead for some years. This inconvenience, however, will not hinder his reembodied apparition from intervening in the demons' affairs. After Athanasius prevents the demons from throwing a possessed man into a fire, the demons complain that they are afflicted by Athanasius's asceticism and prayer. The demons' woes continue when the monks of Qenneshre (including the narrator) acquire the right hand of Athanasius's brother Severus, the late bishop of Samasota (d. 641). As Severus's hand comes to the monastery, fire springs out from this relic blinding the demons. The dead monks buried near the monastery then rise up, greet Severus, are blessed by him, and return to their graves. Severus next exorcises a possessed woman and joins his brother Athanasius in prayer. The narrative then jumps to a story concerning the monastery's founder, John bar Aphtonia (d. 538). In this account, a demon insults the length of John's beard and John responds by torturing the demon who slighted his facial hair. John then exorcises a possessed monk, gives the monk the Eucharist, and suddenly John disappears. When the formerly possessed man asks the narrator if he had seen John, the narrator dodges the question in order that he not upset the recently exorcized monk. Next, a demon chief chides one of the Qenneshre monks for carrying a relic of Saint Ephrem (d. 373). The demon begins to insult Ephrem himself whom the demon addresses as a withered, parched locust. In response Ephrem rolls the demon from wall to wall, twists the demon's hands and feet around each other, and flails him with fire. After further tortures the demon is driven away and dissipates like smoke. In the next episode, another set of demons who did not learn from their predecessors' mistakes begin to insult four Christians martyred by the emperor Julian (d. 363).

The martyrs in turn torture the demons. This story cycle ends with a brief reference to additional exorcisms.

The next set of anecdotes begins in the first person voice of Bishop Daniel (either Daniel of Edessa, d. 684 or Daniel of Aleppo, fl. early ninth century). This story cycle commences with a demon explaining to Daniel that many of those who are nominally under Daniel's authority are actually the demon's allies. Daniel binds the demon with oaths and forces him to begin naming these conspirators. Daniel learns that a deacon from Serug possesses one of the demon's books. Daniel summons the deacon and burns the magical book. The deacon then repents. Unfortunately for Daniel, the demon has learned his lesson and he will not reveal to the bishop any other of his allies. Next an unnamed holy person binds demons with oaths and interrogates them. In response to a series of questions, the demons state that they prefer Jews to Pagans, Julianists to Nestorians, that they can not distinguish between the Chalcedonians and the Nestorians, and that Satan himself led the Council of Chalcedon. The final episode has a demon complain to Daniel that, in the present day, Miaphysites, as opposed to Chalcedonians, are serving the Eucharist in the monastery of Qenneshre.

The final set of extant episodes form a fairly coherent, linear narrative that takes place in the court of the Muslim emir 'Abdallah b. Durrai (fl. 660s). 'Abdallah is investigating whether an unnamed magician sent the demons into the monastery. As part of his inquiry, the emir wants to interrogate the possessed monks. 'Abdallah questions the head of the demons and discovers that indeed the magician did send them into the monastery and there the demons suffered many afflictions from the saints. Daniel, the Bishop of Edessa, then arrives with a bag containing a relic. Fire comes out of the bag beginning to burn the demon and the demon reveals that the saint's presence has prevented him from possessing the emir. Next, a young man appears with a ring that contains a piece of Jesus' cross. 'Abdallah then uses this ring to appraise the true cross' efficacy. The emir puts the ring with the cross splinter upon a rod and approaches a demon who then cries out. 'Abdallah then removes the relic from the rod and replaces it with his own ring. This time when he approaches the demon, the demon jumps up and grabs the emir's ring. The emir then puts the ring with the true cross back on the rod, touches the possessed man, and exorcises the demon. At this point, the extant text breaks off with the phrase "Clergy came from Nisibis..."

A Fragmentary Text

Even a cursory summary of the manuscript's content suggests that the text *Jesus, son of Isaiah* copied in the late fifteenth century may al-

ready have been a compilation of several earlier accounts.⁹ Although Jesus' manuscript provides no clear indication of sectional divisions, my translation divides the work into four sections. The extant manuscript begins in the midst of what originally was a larger story concerning Theodore, the Miaphysite Patriarch of Antioch (d. 667). It commences with the phrase "and I Patriarch Theodore..." and continues to have Theodore, in his own words, tell of his encounter with a possessed man and ends after an unnamed holy man pounds the demon's head with a hammer of fire, the demon flees, and the narrative shifts to the next story. As none of the other *Qenneshre Fragment* accounts are told in Theodore's voice, this first episode may have been more strongly connected to those tales that originally preceded it than to those that follow.

Immediately after Theodore's narrative, is the second story cycle. It is most tellingly divided from the previous section by an abrupt shift in point of view. It is primarily from a third person perspective with the narrator occasionally breaking frame to make a brief first person intervention. Whenever using the first person, the narrator depicts himself as one of the monks from Qenneshre. As a result, unlike the earlier section that presents itself as an autobiographical account by the patriarch Theodore, the second set of stories reads as a more omniscient account with the narrator occasionally alluding to his own involvement in the story line. This story cycle ends with the statement that there were many other miracles not written in this book (most likely an allusion to John 20:30) which marks a clear ending to the section.

The third section breaks the previous pattern of demons insulting the saints and the saints torturing the demons in revenge. Instead, the third set of stories focuses on the interrogation of demons and the information they reveal. Unlike the previous set of tales that were told by a monk from Qenneshre, this set of stories begins with the first person voice of Bishop Daniel and later shifts to an omniscient narrative voice.

The final story cycle takes place in the court of the Muslim emir 'Abdallah b. Durrai. Unlike the earlier sections of the *Qenneshre Fragment*, where the possessed monks were Miaphysites, this last extant section insists that

⁹ For a more extensive discussion of the text's possible components see Michael Philip Penn, "The Composition of the Qenneshre Fragment," in *Aramaic in Post-Biblical Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Eric Myers and Paul Flesher (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 33-47. Although their rationale occasionally differs, Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten," 337-340 and Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, 1997), 144-147 also divide the text in a similar manner. Reinink provides additional subdivisions.

only Chalcedonian monks were possessed and alternates between the first person narrative of Daniel of Edessa and a third person narrative. The extant text breaks off with the phrase "Clergy from Nisibis came...", giving little clue as to whether more action was going to take place in the emir's court or if the text would move to another setting and set of stories.

Shifting points of view and plot inconsistencies suggest that the *Qenneshre Fragment* may be the compilation of several originally independent textual sources combined by a later redactor. Alternatively, perhaps abrupt shifts in narrative voice or plot details resulted from a single author combining multiple oral accounts that he heard over an extended period of time as opposed to pasting together written documents. In either case, in its current redaction several items provide some sense of unity across the entire document: all sections focus on how deceased holy men, either directly or as relics, address Qenneshre's demon problem; Daniel appears in the first person in both section three and four; occasionally section four alludes to plot elements of earlier sections (e.g. the demons claim that they suffered torture from "those breakers and that bearded one," the same appellations used to describe various holy men in sections one and two); both sections two and three have the demons refer to a monastery as "a mill," an altar as a "hole" and the Eucharist as "bush." Of course, these similarities could have motivated an editor to combine three or more documents together in the first place. Alternatively, they could be due to a redactor modifying his sources so they fit together better. As a result, one should take the *Qenneshre Fragment*'s fragmentary nature quite seriously and realize that details from one part of the final narrative may originally have come from a different source or time period than those found in another part of the extant text.

*Dating the Text*¹⁰

Establishing the *terminus post quem* for the *Qenneshre Fragment* is initially fairly easy. The document refers to numerous historical personages. These include Theodore (d. 667), Severus (d. 641), and 'Abdallah b. Durrai (fl. 660s). Whether a unified or a composite text, the result is the same: the *Qenneshre Fragment* could have been written no earlier than the late seventh century. There are, however, two issues that potentially could raise the *terminus post quem* to a time period much later than the seventh century: 1) possible dependence on other versions of the story of demonic

¹⁰ For a more extensive discussion of the text's dating see Penn, "The Composition of the Qenneshre Fragment," 33-47.

possession at Qenneshre, and 2) the references to Bishop Daniel in the *Qenneshre Fragment*.

The frame story of the *Qenneshre Fragment* shares several details with both the *Chronicle ad 1234* and Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) which, in turn, stem from Dionysius of Tel Mahre (d. 845). The version preserved by Michael the Syrian is closest in content to the *Qenneshre Fragment*. It reads:

In the days of Mar Daniel, Bishop of Edessa, demons seized the brethren of the monastery of Qenneshre. And the abbot summoned and implored Mar Daniel to find relief for those wretches. Daniel said that they should go to Mar Jacob's and bring the body of Bishop Severus. Although [the monks of Mar Jacob's] did not want to give him up, after some urging, they gave a piece of him. When [the monks of Qenneshre] brought it near, the devils wailed, "Woe to us. That broken one is coming. It was not enough for him to drive us out of Samasota. Rather, he also comes here." (And the devils said ["broken one"] because at one point the holy one had fallen from a mount and became crippled in his leg). One of those whom the demons had seized was once the bishop's disciple. And they threatened the demon in him saying, "Behold, this one's master is coming. And he will drive you out." The demon answered, "I did not willingly enter this boy, rather under compulsion. Our master's dog was killed by him in the upper vineyard. Therefore he sent me to torment him. And he sent my other companions to enter these monks because, during the Eucharist, they left church and went to swim and play in the pools outside the monastery" (the demons called a certain magician "our master"). When the monks placed those boys before the holy one's right hand, the devils immediately wailed noisily and departed from them.

Could the author of the *Qenneshre Fragment* also have read Dionysius? The large number of differences between *The Qenneshre Fragment's* version and those found in the *Chronicle ad 1234* and Michael the Syrian suggest that this is unlikely. In those places where the plots overlap, the details are different: although two of the insults found in the *Chronicle ad 1234* are repeated in the *Qenneshre Fragment*, most of them (such as Paul the "skin head" or Thomas "one-ball") are not;¹¹ in the *Chronicle ad 1234*

¹¹ But even the two shared insults are worded differently in the two documents. Although both have a demon refer to Ephrem as "dried up," the *Chronicle of 1234* speaks of him as a "dried up beardless one." The *Qenneshre Fragment* reserves the term "beardless one" for other holy men and instead has the demon call Ephrem a "dried up deacon" and later a shriveled "locust." Similarly, while both documents have the demons insult the length of John bar Aphtonia's beard, the insults' phrasings differ. The documents' tendency to vary in detail, even at the few points where the general plot is the same, provides another indication that shared oral traditions more likely account for these works' similarities than direct literary

the monks insult the icons of the saints not their reanimated relics; in the account by Michael the Syrian, Daniel plays a very different role in the narrative appearing only in places where he is absent in the *Qenneshre Fragment* story and showing up in the *Qenneshre Fragment* only in episodes unattested by Michael. In addition, the majority of episodes found in the *Qenneshre Fragment* are not in the other documents. This pattern of occasional agreement on general plot and character names seems much more indicative of shared oral traditions than literary dependence and provides poor evidence of a direct connection between Dionysius of Tel Maḥre and the *Qenneshre Fragment*.

The *Qenneshre Fragment*'s references to Bishop Daniel could also affect the *terminus post quem*. Daniel is found three times in the extant text. Twice he is referred to as Daniel of Aleppo in the main text but in both cases the word Aleppo has been crossed out and changed in the margins to Edessa. In his last appearance the main text speaks of Daniel of Edessa. Since Daniel of Edessa lived in the mid-seventh century and Daniel of Aleppo in the early ninth, resolving the question of which Daniel did the text originally refer to has a clear impact on dating this document. There are several reasons to favor Daniel of Edessa being the more likely original. 1) At one point the *Qenneshre Fragment* refers to a deacon from Serug who is under Daniel's authority. This makes perfect sense if Daniel is from Edessa. Serug, however, is far removed from the jurisdiction of Aleppo 2) The only other mention of a Daniel's involvement in this incident is from Michael the Syrian, who explicitly speaks of him as Daniel of Edessa suggesting that at least by the twelfth century it is Daniel of Edessa who has become associated with this story 3) Later in the *Sachau 315* manuscript there is another reference to Aleppo which geographically makes little sense but would work well if instead the reference originally was to Edessa.¹² In other words, this codex may have had a tendency to change Edessan references to Aleppo; the two references to Daniel of Edessa originally followed this tendency but were later corrected back to their original form. Because the *Qenneshre Fragment*'s dependence on Dionysius of Tel Maḥre seems improbable and the reference to Daniel of Aleppo could be a later textual emendation, the *terminus post quem* of the main text of the *Qenneshre Fragment* should remain at the late-seventh century.

The codex's colophon indicating that Jesus bar Isaiah copied this document in AG 1792 (1480/1481 CE) provides a solid *terminus ante-quem*.

dependence. Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten," 338-339, n. 16-17 comes to a similar conclusion.

¹² Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 146, n. 105.

Thus all portions of the main text must have been completed between the late seventh and the late fifteenth centuries. But an eight hundred year expanse is not a very satisfying date for a text. Can one do better than this? Although none of the following arguments are indisputable, I believe that the extant text provides several additional clues that allow us to lower the *terminus ante-quem* and establish a more narrow range of probable dates for the initial composition of the *Qenneshre Fragment*.

Previous scholars have observed that the *Qenneshre Fragment* both gives the correct title and date for the Muslim official 'Abdallah b. Durrai.¹³ That is, the text refers to the emir as "the governor of Mesopotamia" and correctly portrays him as Daniel of Edessa's contemporary. The historicity of this detail does not require an early dating for the text. Nevertheless, unless our author had access to earlier written material concerning this particular emir, it would be surprising if hundreds of years after the fact he was still familiar with a relatively minor Muslim official. Perhaps even more useful, however, in helping date the text are its jokes.

Early in the *Qenneshre Fragment* a demon chastises the monks of Qenneshre for having a relic of Ephrem stating: "Are you not ashamed that you are famous Greek monks yet he brought a dried up little deacon both a Syrian and a foreigner?" Some of the passage's humor comes from the demon's *hutzpah* in insulting Saint Ephrem and this prepares the reader for the next passages that contain Ephrem's slap-stick revenge. Comprehending the insult itself, however, depends on the reader recognizing the contrast drawn between Ephrem, the most famous of Syriac authors and the monastery of Qenneshre's fame for Greek erudition. The demon is making fun of Hellenophiles appealing to the epitome of Syriac learning for help. The joke, however, only works as long as Qenneshre is associated with Greek scholarship.¹⁴ This rings most true in the sixth, seventh, and early eighth centuries when Qenneshre was renowned for Greek learning and housed Miaphysite luminaries such as Thomas of Harqel who made a Syriac translation of the bible that more closely followed the Septuagint.¹⁵

¹³ Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 145.

¹⁴ A special thanks to Lucas Van Rompay for first bringing this argument to my attention.

¹⁵ Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 142; Nau, "Notice historique sur le monastère de Qartamin," 112; J. W. Watt, "A Portrait of John Bar Aphthonia, Founder of the Monastery of Qenneshre," in *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity Byzantium and the Christian Orient*, ed. J. W. Driggers and J. W. Watt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 156, 159, 168; William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London: A. and C. Black, 1894), 84. By the late eighth century there appears to be a general decline in the use of Greek. Manuscript evidence reflects this shift. Several late eighth-century and ninth-century manuscripts are palimpsests with Syriac written over Greek (Sebastian Brock, "Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning," in

But in later centuries the monastery's connection with Greek knowledge substantially diminished. It is possible that a later author is relying on his audience's knowledge of how Qenneshre used to be to get a laugh. It is rare, though, for a joke to require its listeners to transport themselves back in time in order to get the punch line. In other words, the humorous exchange makes perfect sense in a seventh- or eighth-century context, but becomes much less comprehensible in later time periods.

A similar situation occurs when an unnamed monk interrogates the demons. The narrative of the monk's questions and the demons' answers form a far from subtle polemic against the author's theological opponents. In the course of this inquisition, the demons declare that Satan himself ran the Council of Chalcedon. Similarly, the demons proclaim that, although they love the Chalcedonians and the East Syrians (aka. Nestorians), both are so far removed from the truth the demons cannot distinguish between them. Such comments could delight Miaphysite readers for many centuries to come. There is one remark, however, that seems more temporally specific. The demons state that Julianists are even dearer to them than Nestorians. The Julianists stemmed from an internal division among Miaphysites in the early sixth century. As a result, Julian and his followers were considered heretics by many of their fellow Miaphysites and we possess numerous Miaphysite tractates against the Julianists. The Julianists, however, flourished only until the eighth century and even the preservation of anti-Julianist manuscripts quickly dies down. As with the joke against Ephrem, it is possible that the author assumes his audience will take on the perspective of seventh-century Miaphysites even if they themselves are living in a later time period. It seems much more likely, however, that the document's anti-Julianist polemic would be written in the midst of the Julianist controversy as opposed to long after the controversy had receded.

It remains possible that an author from the thirteenth-century, for example, could correctly remember the name, title, and date of a minor Muslim official who lived six hundred years earlier and twice make jokes that, while making perfect sense around the eighth-century, required his contemporary audience to take up the perspective of Christians from five centuries earlier. Such a scenario, however, seems unlikely. Thus an absolute *terminus post quem* for the text is the last third of the seventh-century,

East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period, N. G. Garsoian, T. F. Mathew, R. W. Thomson [eds.] [Washington, D.C., 1982], 29, n. 140). For example, the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* reuses folios from six different Greek bibles (see Amir Harrak, *The Chronicle of Zuqnin, Parts III and IV*, vol. 36 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1999), 1-2. Also see Lucas Van Rompay, "Past and Present Perceptions of Syriac Literary Tradition," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 3/1 [January 2000], par. 36.

the absolute *terminus ante quem* is no earlier than the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, *The Qenneshre Fragment* provides several clues that point toward an earlier date, perhaps the eighth-century. This would make it the contemporary of many other eighth-century Syriac works that speak of Muslims such as the *Disputation of the Monk of Bet Hale*, the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, Timothy I's *Apology*, and Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* but it still would have been written before the majority of Eastern Christian texts referring to Islam were composed in Arabic.

Debating with Demons

Although certain issues regarding the *Qenneshre Fragment*, such as its textual unity or date of composition, remain murky, many of the narrative's overarching goals are crystal clear. Given the slap-stick nature of its plot, the *Qenneshre Fragment* almost certainly was meant to be humorous and entertaining. Nevertheless it preserves very serious apologetic and polemical concerns.

One prominent example of this dynamic is the narrative's continual insistence on the power of relics. The Christian cult of relics was built on an act of metonymy, the part of the holy person representing the person as a whole. The *Qenneshre Fragment* takes this metonymy to its literal extreme. The relics essentially reanimate into the deceased holy man who now becomes fully embodied character in the narrative. For its original audience such transformations served a specifically apologetic purpose. With the rise of Islam, the cult of relics became a source of serious contention between Christians and Muslims. Many Muslims associated the Christian cult of relics with polytheism, a polemic addressed in Syriac texts such as the early eighth-century *Disputation of the Monk of Beth Hale*.¹⁶ The *Qenneshre Fragment* does so in a slightly more indirect manner. In the *Qenneshre Fragment* the legitimacy of the cult of relics is implied through their power. The text presents a hyper-literalist universe in which the body parts of ancient martyrs (ܩܝܡܐ. Literally, "witnesses") now witness to the efficacy of relics. Ironically, this legitimization of relics comes to fruition only through the unintentional complicity of the demons. It is their adverse reactions to the relics that serve as the proof of the relics' power and hence the relics' legitimacy. This trope is taken one step further at

¹⁶ *Disputation between an Arab Notable and a Monk of Bet Hale* (Diyarbakir MS 95, ff. 1b-2a). Also see Gerrit Reinink, "The Veneration of Icons, the Cross, and the Bones of the Martyrs in an Early East-Syrian Apology Against Islam," in *Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient: Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by D. Bumazhnov, E. Grypeou, T. B. Sailors, A. Toepel (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 329-342.

the document's end when it is a Muslim emir who himself employs the quintessential relic, a piece of Jesus' holy cross, to successfully exorcize a possessed monk. This too may serve as a defense of the Christian veneration of the cross, another frequent target of Muslim criticism and subject of other Syriac apologies.¹⁷

Demons also provide the opportunity for some of the text's most overt polemics. It is through the interrogation of a demon that the narrative constructs a hierarchy of errors with the demons proclaiming which religious groups they hold most dear. This ranking of polytheists, Jews, Chalcedonians, East Syrians, and Julianists became so enticing that a later reader added a marginalia to include Muslims as well in this demonic schema. On a slightly more subtle level, the pun on the emir's name ('Abd Allah's meaning servant of God, but this phrase also being what the demon in the emir's court calls himself) also aligns the text's only Muslim character with the demonic. So too, an ancient reader of this story could easily elide Muslim criticism of Christian relics with the demons' disrespect for the same.

In each of these cases one sees that the demons and their escapades serve not simply as plot devices or comic relief. Instead, it is the demons who ironically serve as a witness to Christian truth. Demonic actions and their consequences allow both author and audience to think through a series of theological issues that have become increasingly pressing in light of the christological controversies and the rise of Islam. More commonly studied Syriac texts debate these topics through the framework of a disputation or a theological tract. The *Qenneshre Fragment* does this through a narrative of demonic possession, interrogation, and exorcism.

* * *

Even a brief foray into the *Qenneshre Fragment*'s plot, structure, composition date, and narrative dynamics reveals a complicated set of issues underlying a seemingly simple story. In presenting a new edition and first English translation of this text, my goal is to motivate others to take this humorous tale more seriously so that they may more thoroughly address the many questions it raises. To assist with this, I have tried to translate the text in a way that makes it more accessible but which still preserves its ambiguity and downright weirdness.

¹⁷ *Disputation between an Arab Notable and a Monk of Bet Hale* (Diyarbakir MS 95, ff. 1b-2a); Theodore bar Koni, *Scholion* 10 (CSCO 69: 241, 268-272); Timothy I, *Apology* (Alphonse Mingana, *Sources syriaques I* (Leipzig: Dominican Press, 1907), *113-114).

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

²⁷ Marginal note: $\kappa\iota\omicron\kappa\omega$.

²⁸ Marginal note: $\kappa\iota\omicron\kappa\omega$.

²⁹ Marginal note: **فلا**.

³⁰ Marginal note: כח: כח: כח: כח: כח: כח: כח: כח: כח:

³¹ A small **o** has been inserted just above and before the **ⲡ** of **ⲛⲓⲁ** so that it now reads **ⲛⲓⲁⲟ**. This appears to have been done by Jesus. There is another marginal note next to this containing the phrase **ⲁⲓⲗⲏ ⲕⲓⲗⲏ** but part of the note was lost in the book's rebinding.

³² Marginal note: *كذلك*.

[illegible]

60b

61a

⁴⁰ *Corr.* as did Nau. MS reads ,m.

⁴¹ A **o** was inserted above the line so that it now reads **u o**.. There is also a marginal note here: **u o**.

⁴² Marginal note: *κακε.*

⁴³ This appears to have been changed by either scribe or later reader to **𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡𐎹**.

⁴⁴ Marginal note: (فحة). The mark) has also been appended to (فح) which now reads (فح) indicating where فحة should be added in the text. This correction may have been made by Jesus.

⁴⁵ A **α** was inserted most likely by Jesus or possibly by a later reader.

⁴⁶ Marginal note: **ملح**, quite possibly written by Jesus.

⁴⁷ Marginal note: **حما**.

[illegible][illegible]

62a

[illegible][illegible]

62b

[illegible]

⁵⁴ *Corr.*, as did Nau. MS reads $\kappa\omega$.

⁵⁵ Marginal note: ,mior.

⁵⁶ Marginal note: **مستخرج**.

⁵⁷ MS = Kioo.


[illegible]

the man in whom
he dwelled

58a
whip

⁶³ The term “beardless one” is often used by Syriac sources as an epithet for an ascetic, see for example, Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors* 2.13, 2.12 (E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas Bishop of Marga A.D. 840*, v. 1 [London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., 1893], 84-85, 94). The idea seems to have been that constant fasting and ascetic practices would literally cause one’s hair to fall out. See also Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin: Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann’s Lexicon Syriacum* (Sinona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 1023.

⁶⁵ It is not clear where in this sentence the narrative switches from indirect to direct discourse.

⁶⁶ The Syriac  ("whip") is glossed in the margins by the Arabic loan word *maqrā'a* (also meaning "whip"). See Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten," 340, n. 24.

hold the beardless one⁶⁷ is beating him. And with a hammer of fire, behold, he is breaking his head.” And at that very moment, he dashed him to the ground and the demon⁶⁸ departed and fled.

2)⁶⁹ And when one of the demons wanted⁷⁰ to throw a wretch⁷¹ into the fire to burn [him], the demon⁷² saw the holy patriarch Athanasius⁷³ carrying a cross of fire.⁷⁴ And Athanasius⁷⁵ restrained the demon and angered him. The demon cried out and said, “You and the basket of stench⁷⁶ that you carry in your humility burn us, oh breaker⁷⁷ Athanasius. As you burn

And he did not
release the demon

the car
driver

⁶⁷ MS = “he.”

⁶⁸ MS = “he.”

⁶⁹ Section and paragraph divisions are my own and do not always correspond with marks in the manuscript. This seems to begin another episode and the voice shifts from the first person narrative of Theodore into a third person narration concerning the deceased holy men Athanasius and Severus.

⁷⁰ *Corr.*

⁷¹ That is, the man possessed by the demon.

⁷² MS = “he.”

⁷³ Athanasius was the miaphysite Patriarch of Antioch who died in 631CE. Reinink, “Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten,” 336; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.7 (Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 420-421). The story is set after Athanasius’s death and Athanasius has come back from the dead in order to save the monastery of Qenneshre from this demon infestation. Here, as in many places in this narrative, the demons are encountering some sort of apparition or reanimation of a now deceased holy man.

⁷⁴ There are several references to a holy object or objects that Athanasius carries. The most explicit is a cross (“the cross of fire”). As elsewhere in the text the demons use code words to speak of holy items, referring in this case to “the basket of foulness” and to “your brand.” It is unclear if these are additional references to the cross Athanasius is carrying or to other sacred objects such as the bag of relics that appears in the *Qenneshre Fragment*’s last extant section.

⁷⁵ MS = “he.”

⁷⁶ The reference is unclear. This may be another reference to either the cross or another holy object that Athanasius has with him. Alternatively, the demon may simply be referring to Athanasius’ virtue of humility as “the basket of stench.”

⁷⁷ The meaning of Athanasius’ epithet ܐܬܢܐܨܝܘܣ is not entirely clear. When left unvocalized the Syriac can be read either as “breaker” or “broken one.” The text also uses ܐܬܢܐܨܝܘܣ to speak of Athanasius’s brother Severus. In Severus’s case we have better information about this nickname. As Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 143 points out, in Michael the Syrian’s version of the demons at Qenneshre (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.7 [Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 420-421]), the demons refer to Severus as a ܐܬܢܐܨܝܘܣ “because the saint had once fallen from a beast of burden and been lamed in one foot.” As a result, I translate the term as “broken one” when it refers to Severus. For Athanasius, though, I use the term “breaker.” That is, he is a “breaker” of demons. This same word is used as a finite verb ܐܬܢܐܨ in the previous episode when a beardless one breaks a demon’s head. Either Jesus or a later reader appears, like me, to have tried to lessen ambiguity in this section of the manuscript. With one exception, he adds a ܐ to the word (i.e. ܐܬܢܐܨܝܘܣ) making it active (i.e. “breaker”) whenever it refers to Athanasius and leaves it unvocalized when it refers to Severus (i.e. “broken one”).

us, no one is here but you and the firebrand in your hand.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, upon your grave there are three baskets of peacock dung.⁷⁹ And you do not allow you and your grave to have honor. You will grieve our master who did not have anywhere else to send us except for this 'mill.'⁸⁰ And behold we are afflicted and tormented here. Behold the dead buried here judge us and harshly beat and burn us. And as for you Severus, the broken one,⁸¹ Bishop of Samosata, brother of the Patriarch, the Camel Driver,⁸² | your humility is very harsh upon us and your kindness is too much for us. Behold, we see your form and we tremble because you did not sprinkle salt on your food lest your body benefit from its pleasant taste. And [we also tremble] because of your many fervent words during your prayers and your Eucharists. Behold, they burn and destroy us."

58b

And after these things, we sent for and brought from the Monastery of Mar Jacob of Kaishum to us at the Monastery of Qenneshre the right hand of the holy Mar Severus, Bishop of Samosota.⁸³ When the holy one arrived from afar to enter the monastery, rays of fire came out of the holy one and he blinded the demons. And they cried out and said, "Flee, flee and run away. Behold, that broken one, the brother of the breaker and Camel Driver, comes upon us. We are no match for their power."

Severus

And there was a woman there who was possessed by a demon. She was wailing and sprinkling ash upon her head. And the demon in her cried out to his friends and said, "Thus you leave me alone in the hands of this broken one and flee? Whoever trusts you is accursed, for you are unable to help him at all. Now | your weakness has become known to these shorn ones!"⁸⁴ And all the dead who were buried in this Monastery of Qenneshre went out to meet the broken one. They were blessed by him and they re-

59a

Severus

⁷⁸ The reference is unclear. The demon may be referring to the cross Athanasius is carrying as a "fire-brand."

⁷⁹ The reference is quite unclear. In Syriac, the phrase "baskets of dung" (ܐܬܬܐܪ ܕܥܝܬܐ) is aliterative with each word consisting of identical consonants.

⁸⁰ As is made more explicit later in the text, "mill" is the demon's code word for a monastery.

⁸¹ Severus (d. 641), the Miaphysite bishop of Samasota was Athanasius's brother. See Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.7 (Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 420). As later the monks obtain a relic of Severus, like his brother Athanasius, he too is dead by the time the story begins. This also accounts for the demons use of the past tense when discussing Severus's eating habits.

⁸² The patriarch Athanasius was also known as the "camel driver." Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten," 336.

⁸³ The narrator intervenes into his story with a brief first person reference to him and his fellow monks of Qenneshre obtaining a relic of Severus.

⁸⁴ Literally: "shaved." This may be another way of referring to ascetics as "beardless." Alternatively, it could be referring to Miaphysite monks as being tonsured.

monastery, altar,
Eucharist, baptism

turned to their graves. And [this] was a great marvel. And all the demons fled from him crying out and saying, "Woe to us because Athanasius left us and brought upon us his brother, that broken one."⁸⁵ And when Severus⁸⁶ arrived and entered into the "mill" and entered the "hole" where the "bush" was put and entered into the "bath" (and these are holy places and the demons call them thus when mocking them),⁸⁷ he reached that woman. And behold, she bowed down before him. While they were in these holy places that holy Severus and his brother Athanasius prayed.⁸⁸

Patriarch

bearer of God...

59b

And one day, one of the demons while pointing at John bar Aphtonia⁸⁹ said to his friends, "Look and see that bearded one, how big is his beard and how long! See how he carries a sword of fire⁹⁰ and is driving us away." The demon began to make fun of holy John and said, "If the monks of this monastery had a beard like yours, they would have enough hair [to serve] as their clothes."⁹¹ Then the holy one suspended | the demon between the earth and the sky while he was bound and being beaten with belts of fire for about two hours. The demon⁹² wailed and said, "Let me go and I will not again say these mocking words." Immediately John⁹³ bent him sideways and made the demon⁹⁴ stand on the toes of his right foot while bent

John

⁸⁵ This is the only place where the vocalization added by Jesus or by a later reader is inconsistent. In every other instance in the narrative where ܠܚܝܬܐ alludes to Athanasius it has been vocalized as ܠܚܝܬܐ ("breaker") and when it refers to Severus it has been left unvocalized ("broken one"). In this case, however, although clearly a reference to Severus, it is vocalized. I think this is an error and so I have continued to translate the reference to Severus here (as in all other cases in the story) as "broken one" and references to Athanasius as "breaker."

⁸⁶ MS = "he."

⁸⁷ This is one of several places where the narrator uses "demon speak." That is, he uses the same terms he claims the demons do when speaking of Christian objects and holy places. Later in the main text of the *Qeneshre Fragment* these terms are decoded: "mill" means monastery, "hole" means altar, and "bush" means the Eucharist. Here, a later reader added a marginal note to clarify this. According to this marginalia, "bath" is related to baptism.

⁸⁸ At this point the story shifts from Athanasius and his brother Severus to other deceased holy ones. It seems likely that they, too, are present at the monastery of Qenneshre as relics.

⁸⁹ John bar Aphtonia (d. 538) was the founder of the Monastery of Qenneshre. Especially see Watt, "A Portrait of John Bar Aphtonia," 155-169. It is unclear how the marginalia containing the phrase "bearer of God" relates to this part of the text. Part of the marginalia was lost in the book's rebinding.

⁹⁰ The reference is unclear. It could allude to the cross or another holy object that John carries. Alternatively, it could be a more general reference to John's power.

⁹¹ Literally: "If a beard like yours was found on the monks of this monastery, they would not lack hair for their clothes."

⁹² MS = "he."

⁹³ MS = "he."

⁹⁴ MS = "him."

over and wailing. And afterward John⁹⁵ bound him under his legs and he put the balls of his feet on his mouth and he forced him to walk. And the demon⁹⁶ walked on his back enduring much suffering, harsh wounds, and bitter and harsh affliction from the saint.⁹⁷ And that demon said to the holy one, "Because this monastery was built by you, you [can] compel us."⁹⁸ But if not⁹⁹ for your prayers and those of your dead friends, we would have put its stones into the Euphrates river¹⁰⁰ in accord with the commandment of our master Sataniel and of the other master we have, Barḥadbshabba (this was the name of that magician we previously mentioned who made reed flutes).¹⁰¹ And after much torment and suffering, the demon¹⁰² threw that wretch¹⁰³ to the ground, departed, and fled. And that abbot¹⁰⁴ spiritually made the sign [of the cross over] the cup and gave the Eucharist to that brother. The abbot¹⁰⁵ began to perform [the service] for him. And he said "Amen," "Kyrie Eleison," and "our Father who is in heaven," and "we believe in one God," and so on. | When that brother asked me,¹⁰⁶ "Did you not see the abbot giving you and me the Eucharist?" lest his mind be disturbed I said, "Yes my son, I know."¹⁰⁷

60a

And then one of the brothers had with him a piece of holy Mar Ephrem,¹⁰⁸ the Syrian teacher.¹⁰⁹ And one of the demons said to one of the monks¹¹⁰ in

⁹⁵ MS = "he."

⁹⁶ MS = "he."

⁹⁷ The exact geometry of this gymnastic feat remains unclear.

⁹⁸ John bar Aphtonia established the monastery of Qenneshre around 530 C.E.

⁹⁹ Here read with marginal addition in order for the sentence to make sense.

¹⁰⁰ Literally: "its stones would be placed by us into the river Euphrates."

¹⁰¹ The narrator is referring to a no longer extant portion of the story. This magician will again appear in the last episode of the extant text. Both Michael the Syrian (*Chronicle* 11.7 [Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 420-421] and the *Chronicle ad 1234* [CSCO 81: 267-268]) also refer to one or more magicians in their explanations of why the Monastery of Qenneshre suffered from a demon infestation.

¹⁰² MS = "he."

¹⁰³ That is, the man possessed by the demon.

¹⁰⁴ That is, John bar Aphtonia. A marginal note was later added to make this clear.

¹⁰⁵ MS = "he."

¹⁰⁶ *Corr.* Manuscript reads "And when I asked that brother" which makes no sense with how the sentence continues.

¹⁰⁷ Here the narrator again takes part in the action of the story. In this case, unlike his formerly possessed compatriot, the narrator himself did not see John bar Aphtonia. Nevertheless, he avoids telling this to the recently exorcised monk so as not to frighten him.

¹⁰⁸ That is, a relic of Ephrem.

¹⁰⁹ The fourth-century deacon Ephrem (d. 373) is perhaps the most famous of Syriac writers. This makes the demon's insults that much more offensive.

¹¹⁰ Literally: "one of the blessed ones."

and you will not at all help us
 the demon
 60b

the monastery, "Are you not ashamed that you are famous Greek monks¹¹¹ yet he brought¹¹² a dried up little deacon both a Syrian and a foreigner?¹¹³ And behold, he will kill us in your monastery." But we answered the demon, "This one is our master and lord." The demon said, "This one is dried up and shriveled, that is to say, [he is like a little] locust.¹¹⁴ He is not tougher than me. He thinks that I am like those [he encountered] before. I have been made chief of three thousand devils and this beardless one is going to drive me out of my house?¹¹⁵ I am not afraid of him and I think nothing of him." Then holy Mar Ephrem sealed himself with the [sign of the] victorious cross and rebuked the demon and he began to roll him like a roller from wall to wall while he¹¹⁶ was saying, "Ephrem, you are rolling a mountain." And I, the humble Ephrem,¹¹⁷ remembered the saying that was written in the divine gospel that says, "If you have in you faith like a mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, 'I arise and fall into the sea,' and it will."¹¹⁸ Then the holy one bound the demon [with] bitter and harsh bonds¹¹⁹ until his hands and feet were twisted around each other like ropes. And he made the demon¹²⁰ stand on one of his heels while he wailed from the fire that holy Ephrem cast upon him. The devil said to me, "What you did¹²¹ is not a miracle but [occurred] because your patriarch is near (that is, the grave of Athanasius). He commanded, and behold a beardless and dried up little deacon judges and beats me." I said to him, "Christ allows me to judge you." He answered saying, "Go away. You are a hypocrite." And after

was being rolled
 bonds

¹¹¹ Literally: "that you are blessed men and Greeks and famous ones."

¹¹² *Corr.*

¹¹³ The demon's insult is based on the Monastery of Qenneshre being a renown center for Greek learning. In the seventh century it was home to Thomas of Haraclea, Severus Sebokt, and Jacob of Edessa. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 142; Nau, "Notice historique sur le monastère de Qartamin," 112; Watt, "A Portrait of John Bar Aphthonia," 156, 159, 168; Wright, *A Short History*, 84. The demon points out the irony of a monastery that exalts Greek knowledge relying upon a Syriac saint for its protection.

¹¹⁴ The metaphor is not entirely clear. The Syriac word ܠܥܥܥܐ can also mean: "wood-worm," "caterpillar" (Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 842).

¹¹⁵ As before, the term "house" here refers to the person in whom the demon dwells.

¹¹⁶ That is, the demon. A marginal note was added to make this more clear.

¹¹⁷ The shift in voice is unclear here. The author may have intended the citation of Luke to be said by Mar Ephrem himself. Alternatively, the narrator could be named Ephrem and this is simply a brief narrative aside.

¹¹⁸ Mt 21:21. Cf. Mk 11:23.

¹¹⁹ Read here with marginal addition in order for the sentence to make sense.

¹²⁰ MS = "him."

¹²¹ The shift of agency, that is the narrator tormenting the demon, is due to Ephrem and the other holy ones being relics. That is, the monks through the help of a relic of Ephrem and the support of Athanasius' presence, are able to defeat the demon.

the demon suffered much torment from the holy one, he was driven away and he departed, fled, and dissipated like smoke.

After these things, the accursed demons mocked the holy martyrs Theodosios and Zacharias and the holy martyrs Martha and Anna (the wicked Julian¹²² had killed them). And on their bellies they approached the martyrs. Like those who crawl upon the earth, they came to the holy ones. And they derided them and said, "Woe upon us, from you one eyed? Our master Julian tore out your eye and killed you | and your friend Zacharias." Immediately those holy ones beat the devils with straps of fire. And the devils cried out and said, "You, our master Julian, come save us from the hands of one eyed. For behold, he is tormenting us and burning us as if with fire." However much the demons said, that much more the holy ones increased their afflictions and torments.¹²³

And the holy Janni also did many deeds of power. And the icon of the Patriarch Theodore drove the demons¹²⁴ away. This affliction lasted about two months. And the holy ones did many wonders, but they are not written in this book.¹²⁵

3) And a demon stood upon the grave of a one eyed carpenter and said, "This one is one of ours." And I, Daniel, the bishop of Aleppo¹²⁶ really interrogated that demon. And he said to me, "This carpenter was a magician and he died three years ago. And we own many of those who are [nominally] under your authority." And when I had bound the demon with oaths, he also revealed to me concerning a little deacon in the city of Serug. The demon said, "We have a booklet with him." And when I summoned that little deacon, I burned the booklet and I admonished and warned the dea-

¹²² The Roman emperor Julian (r. 360-363) was later known as Julian the Apostate because he tried to reinstate paganism as the dominant religion of the Roman Empire.

¹²³ Lit: "increased afflictions and torments upon them."

¹²⁴ MS = "them."

¹²⁵ Cf. Jn 20:30.

¹²⁶ There are two possible Daniel's here. Daniel of Edessa (d. 684) and Daniel of Aleppo (fl. mid-ninth century). In this section the manuscript originally read Daniel of Aleppo. The word Aleppo was subsequently crossed out and "corrected" by a marginal note reading "Edessa." The same pattern of Jesus originally copying "Aleppo" and a marginalia changing to "Edessa" occurs later in this section of the text. In the final section of the document, however, Jesus wrote "Daniel of Edessa" and this remains unmodified. It thus remains unclear whether the story originally concerned Daniel of Edessa or Daniel of Aleppo. The narrative makes better sense, however, if the Daniel in question is from Edessa and this would correspond to Michael the Syrian's account (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.7 (Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 429). It remains quite possible that the marginalia is a legitimate correction. For a more in-depth discussion about this issue see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 146-147; Nau, "Notice historique sur le monastère de Qartamin," 118, n 1; Penn, "The Composition of the Qennshre Fragment"; Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten," 340.

the emperor

which was
with him

61a
belts

Theodosius

Edessa

con to not again have dealings with magic. And he was sorry and repented and did not again practice magic. And the demon never again revealed anyone else to us. |

61b And one of the holy ones bound the demons with oaths and said to them, "By the living God I am binding you with oaths so that you will tell me the truth. Who is more beloved by you, the pagans or the Jews?"¹²⁷ The demons said, "We especially adore and love the pagans. But the Jews know a little concerning that one who dwells in heaven. But we rejoice greatly in them and love them more than the pagans because they crucified God their Lord."¹²⁸

And again he bound them with oaths: "Tell me if one of you was at the Council of Chalcedon."¹²⁹ One of the demons approached and swore harsh

¹²⁷ By listing out "demonic preferences" the author is essentially making a prioritized list of heresies. That is, the more beloved a given group is by the demons, the further it is from Christian orthodoxy.

¹²⁸ The argument goes that at first one would suppose that demons would prefer polytheistic pagans to monotheistic Jews. But the Jews' alleged crucifixion of Jesus trumps their knowledge of the one who dwells in heaven causing the demons to prefer the Jews over polytheists. The marginal note here is particularly interesting as it changes the polytheistic pagans into Muslims. That is, after the Islamic Conquests of the seventh century, Syriac writers often use the same word ܠܗܢܦܝܬ (hanpe), to speak of pagans and of Muslims. The marginal note takes advantage of this ambiguity. The statement that one does not believe that Christ is God but that he is a created man is a common Syriac depiction of Muslim beliefs about Jesus. Thus the marginalia changes the object of the demons enjoyment from the polytheists to followers of Islam. For a more detailed analysis of this marginalia and its relationship to anti-Muslim polemics see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 145-146; Michael Philip Penn, "Monks, Manuscripts, and Muslims: Syriac Textual Changes in Reaction to the Rise of Islam," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 12 (2009): 346-348; Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten," 340-242.

¹²⁹ The Council of Chalcedon held in 451 C.E. was the focus on much Miaphysite polemic. From the Miaphysite perspective the council's statement that Christ was "in two natures" inappropriately separated Christ's divinity from his humanity, a view they saw as blasphemous and threatening to salvation. In this case, the *Qenneshre Fragment* takes the Miaphysite polemic that the council's decision was demon inspired one step further and claims that Satan himself led the council. The scholarly literature on the Christological controversies is unbelievably vast. A standard reference remains Grillmeier's *Christ and the Christian Tradition*. For some more recent (and concise) discussions that focus on the controversies' impact upon Syriac Christianity especially see Wilhelm Baum and Dietmar W. Winkler, *Die apostolische Kirche des Ostens: Geschichte der sogenannten Nestorianer* (Klagenfurt: Verlag Kitab, 2000), 25-34 translated in Wilhelm Baum and Dietmar W. Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 21-32; S. P. Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church: A Lamentable Misnomer," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 78 (1996): 32-35; Susan Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 21-27; Volker L. Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Lucas Van Rompay, "The East (3): Syria and Mesopotamia," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 376-378.

and mighty oaths and said, "By that powerful devil by whose name one cannot deceive, I swear to you that Sataniel, the head and chief of all our forces, he led this Council of Chalcedon. And he, with those Jews,¹³⁰ carried out this rebellion and that blasphemy and apostasy. And he compelled them until they crucified God their Lord and they wrote what they wrote."

And again the holy one bound the demons with oaths and said to them, "Who is dearer to you, the Nestorians or the Chalcedonians?"¹³¹ Here the demons did not know [how] to make a distinction and they answered, "They are sick with one [and the same] illness and they have fallen [into] one [and the same] calamity."¹³² And we love them — those ones | and these ones — because they separated the Son of God from the divinity at the moment of his crucifixion. And they say that we crucified a created man and not God." Again he bound them with oaths, "Who is dearer to you the Nestorians or the Julianists?"¹³³ The demons answered, "The Julianists because all of them are magicians and therefore we really love them."

¹³⁰ Miaphysite texts often refer to the followers of Chalcedon as Jews. The argument is that by inappropriately separating Christ's humanity and Christ's divinity Chalcedonians emphasize Christ's divine nature, essentially treating him as though simply another human being. Miaphysite polemic contends that this makes the supporters of Chalcedon just like Jews in that they also deny Christ's full divinity. Thus, they would contend, the council's decision essentially crucifies Christ. See Lucas Van Rompay, "A Letter of the Jews to the Emperor Marcian Concerning the Council of Chalcedon," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 12 (1981): 215-224.

¹³¹ "Nestorians" is a polemical title for East Syrian Christians. For a discussion of the terminology applied to the Church of the East and an appeal against the use of the term "Nestorian" see Brock, "A Lamentable Misnomer," 23-35. From a Miaphysite perspective, East Syrian Christology inappropriately stresses Christ as having two separate natures and is also heretical. A common Miaphysite polemic is that Chalcedonians and East Syrians share the same understanding of Christ. Although few Chalcedonian or East Syrian Christians would agree with this claim, the polemical thrust of this passage is that their beliefs are so similar that even demons cannot tell the difference between them.

¹³² In Syriac this forms a pun, literally "they fell into one falling."

¹³³ In most Miaphysite literature, their theological arch-nemeses are the "Nestorians." It is thus surprising to find a group whom the *Qenneshre Fragment* claims is even dearer to the demons than East Syrians are. Julianists are a reference to those fellow-Miaphysites who followed the beliefs of Julian of Helicarnassus. In the 520s and 530s there arose a controversy surrounding Julian's claim that from the moment of his conception Christ's body was incorruptible, a doctrine that many felt was too docetic. As a result Julian and his followers were considered heretics by many of their fellow Miaphysites and we possess numerous Miaphysite tractates against the Julianists. It is on account of this internal schism among Miaphysites that the author the *Qenneshre Fragment* suggests that the demons are particularly fond of the Julianists. For more details on Julian of Halicarnassus and his followers see René Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ* (Louvain: P. Smeesters, 1924); A. Grillmeier, *Christ in the Christian Tradition* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 79-111.

After these things, one of the demons replied and said to Daniel, the Edessa bishop of the city of Aleppo, "There is not in this 'mill' even one 'hole'¹³⁴ where 'bush' is not being made. Therefore we are afflicted, tormented, and burned as if with fire. And we really hate the inhabitants of this 'mill.'" (The cursed demons call a monastery, "mill," an altar "hole," and the Eucharist "bush").

of Qenneshre
62b And in the time of the Chalcedonian king Dūmityanūs,¹³⁵ the dyophysites¹³⁶ seized the monastery. And they offered the Eucharist there. And the demons shouted, "It is we who offer the Eucharist to the dyophysites because their confession pleases us (Let these ones who persecute us and call us "Jacobites" and "leaderless" and hate us know [these things]).¹³⁷ And the dyophysites seized the cities and the churches. When they offered [the Eucharist] in them, | the demons also cried out, "It is we demons who give the Eucharist to these our friends and beloved."¹³⁸

4) Afterward a command came from the king¹³⁹ to bring the possessed and the demons to the city so that they might personally rebuke them and also rebuke that magician, if he had sent the demons to this monastery.

¹³⁴ *Corr.*

¹³⁵ Domitian (d. 602) was the cousin of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (d. 602) and was the Chalcedonian Bishop of Melitene. The phrase "Chalcedonian king" may simply be a reference to his leadership role as bishop or reflects his kinship with the Byzantine emperor. Around the year 599 C.E. Domitian launched an anti-Miaphysite persecution forcing many Miaphysite leaders to flee to Egypt and Miaphysite monasteries falling under the control of Chalcedonians. See W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 334-335; Nau, "Notice historique sur le monastère de Qartamin," 119, n. 2). Since the text speaks of the Chalcedonian occupation of the Monastery of Qenneshre occurring under Domitian that most likely began in 599 as pointed out by Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten," 339-340, n. 21, if the text sees 'Abdallah's inquiry as contemporary with Chalcedonian control of the Monastery of Qenneshre, its chronology is off by about half a century.

¹³⁶ The term dyophysite can be used by Miaphysites to speak of any group whose theology they see as threatening Christ's unity — most often East Syrians or Chalcedonians. In this case, the reference to the Chalcedonian Bishop Domitian makes it clear that here the term signifies Chalcedonian Christians.

¹³⁷ The term Jacobite refers to the sixth-century bishop Jacob Baradaeus. Jacob was particularly important to the early history of the Syrian Miaphysites. The term "Jacobite," however, has most often been used by opponents to this church. In origins its use often implied that the "Jacobite" church was not founded in Christ but was established solely by human means through the "heresiarch" Jacob.

¹³⁸ Miaphysites, East Syrians, and Chalcedonians often claimed that their opponents' Eucharist was actually served by demons. Examples abound in sources such as *The Life of Rabban Hormizd* (E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Histories of Rabban Hormizd the Persian and Rabban Bar-'Idta*, v. 1 [London: Luzai, 1902]).

¹³⁹ That is, the emir.

And leading the dyophysites,¹⁴⁰ we¹⁴¹ entered before ‘Abdallah bar Darrag,¹⁴² the emir and governor of Mesopotamia (he was a Hagarene man).¹⁴³ And when that magician¹⁴⁴ and those possessed stood before the emir, they rebuked the magician and made known that he had sent the demons there and that the demons had suffered much torment and affliction from those breakers and from that bearded one and from the rest of the holy ones, their friends.¹⁴⁵ The emir asked the devils’ chief, “Are you many?”¹⁴⁶ He answered and said, “I am the chief of four thousand devils.” Again the emir said, “Is Jesus, son of Mary, your friend?”¹⁴⁷ The devil answered, | “He is my enemy. Today he does not have authority over me. Once he had authority over me and again there will be a time when he will rule over me.” The

¹⁴⁰ Unlike earlier anecdotes, this last story specifies that it was Chalcedonian monks who were demon possessed. In the other anecdotes and in Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle ad 1234*’s versions of this demon infestation, the demons possess Miaphysites.

¹⁴¹ The narrative here shifts to the first person. It is unclear if this is in the first person voice of the narrator or in the voice of Daniel of Edessa.

¹⁴² ‘Abdullāh ibn Darrāj is attested in the works of early Islamic authors such as Balādhuri and Ṭabari. He was a client of the Umayyad caliph Mu‘āwiya who in 661 CE put ‘Abdullāh ibn Darrāj in charge of taxes in Kufa. See Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 160-161; Reinink, “Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten,” 335; Michael G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 37.

¹⁴³ The Syriac term Hagarene (ܗܓܪܝܢܐ) was, starting in the eighth century, one of the most common Syriac words for speaking of a Muslim. For a discussion of this term see Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 24, n. 6; Sidney H. Griffith, *Syriac Writers on Muslims and the Religious Challenge of Islam* (Kerala: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1995), 9-11; Sidney H. Griffith, “Free Will in Christian Kalam: Moshe Bar Kepha Against the Teachings of the Muslims,” *Mus* 100 (1987): 151-154; Sidney H. Griffith, “The Prophet Muhammad His Scripture and His Message according to the Christian Apologies in Arabic and Syriac from the First Abbasid Century,” in *La vie du prophète Mahomet*, ed. T. Fahd (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), 122-124; Andrew Palmer, “Amid in the Seventh-Century Syriac Life of Theodute,” in *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, ed. Emmanouela Grypeou, Mark N. Swanson, and David Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 125-126; Michael Philip Penn, “John and the Emir: A New Introduction, Edition and Translation,” *Mus* 121 (2008): 72-73.

¹⁴⁴ This seems to be referring to the magician and flute salesman alluded to in the earlier section of this text. Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle ad 1234* also have a magician responsible for the monastery’s demon problems.

¹⁴⁵ These refer to the characters (Athanasius, Severus, John bar Aphthonia) who appeared in the earlier section of the document.

¹⁴⁶ This part of the dialogue is clearly dependent on the gospel story of the Garasene demoniac who was possessed by a set of demons called “legion” (Mark 5:1-20 and Luke 8:26-39).

¹⁴⁷ “Jesus the son of Mary” is the most common way the Qur’an refers to Jesus. The author is thus having the emir address Jesus from a decidedly Islamic perspective.

emir said to him, "Are you his servant?" He answered, "No. But I was¹⁴⁸ a servant of God¹⁴⁹ but now I am a rebel against him. But eventually he will rule over me."

And when I, Daniel, the Bishop of Edessa,¹⁵⁰ brought a bag containing one of the holy ones¹⁵¹ near the devils' chief, he began to cry out and wail, "Behold, fire is coming out of the bag and behold it burns me." And he fled and wailed and they seized him. Two days later, while people were gathering before the emir, a demon shouted and said, "Behold that breaker¹⁵² protects this emir lest one of us enter into his heart and give victory to our chief Sataniel."

Because there were people there who were doubting and saying, "We should not listen to demons and we should murder [them]," a young man came.¹⁵³ And in his hand was a ring. And in the ring was¹⁵⁴ a piece of the wood of the cross. And when the ring¹⁵⁵ | was placed on the forehead of one of the possessed, the demon in him shouted, "Take it away. For behold, it burns me. Jesus' cross is in it." And the man instantly was cleansed of the demon who had tormented him. Likewise, when it was brought near another who was tormented by a demon, he instantly was freed and healed.

And the emir put the ring on the head of a rod and brought it near the demons' chief. The demon¹⁵⁶ began to wail and cry out and say, "Jesus' cross is our death and torment." And the emir took the ring and put it on his finger. And he took off his own ring and put it on the head of the rod

¹⁴⁸ *Corr.* Manuscript has: "I am."

¹⁴⁹ As Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 145 and Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten," 344, n. 38 point out, the text is here punning with the emir's name ('Abdallah) which also means "servant of God." Gerrit J. Reinink, "Following the Doctrine of the Demons: Early Christian Fear of Conversion to Islam," in *Cultures of Conversions*, ed. Wout J. van Bekkum Jan N. Bremmer, Arie L. Molendijk (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 134 suggests an even stronger polemic: "The author of this story wants to show that the Muslims, in holding their opinion that Jesus the son of Mary is only human and God's servant, are the companions of the demons who are driven by their hostility to God and Christ and want to make mankind deny the divinity of Christ." So too, Reinink, "Die Muslime in einer Sammlung von Dämonengeschichten," 344-345.

¹⁵⁰ Unlike the last section, Jesus here writes that Daniel is from Edessa.

¹⁵¹ *Lit.* "a bag of one of the holy ones."

¹⁵² Although this is the same epithet as was used previously for the Patriarch Athanasius, it is not clear if Daniel has a relic of Athanasius or if here the term "breaker" is being used for another holy man whose relic Daniel is carrying.

¹⁵³ This sentence is unclear in the Syriac and it remains uncertain whether the people are suggesting for or against the demons' murder.

¹⁵⁴ *Lit.* "And it had in it a piece of the wood of the cross."

¹⁵⁵ MS = "it."

¹⁵⁶ MS = "he."

and brought it near the demon.¹⁵⁷ Right away the demon¹⁵⁸ leapt up and took it saying, "There is in this one no cross which we fear." Afterward, when the emir¹⁵⁹ put upon the demon this ring in which there was a piece of the wood of the cross, for a long time he was as though dead. And that demon wailed and went out from the demoniac. And his mind was restored and he was healed.

And clergy came from Nisibis...¹⁶⁰

SUMMARY

The Syriac Qenneshre Fragment preserves a set of colorful tales concerning how the Miaphysite monks of Qenneshre reacted to their monastery's infestation by demons. The convoluted and occasionally humorous accounts found in this possibly eighth-century text include extended polemics against Judaism, early Islam, and competing branches of Christianity. A new edition and first English translation of the text attempts to make this work more accessible and emphasizes the importance of hagiographic material for our understanding of ancient Syriac Christianity.

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¹⁵⁷ As Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 145 points out: "The inferiority of the emir's faith is then demonstrated by the inefficacy of his ring in contrast to that of the Christian youth."

¹⁵⁸ MS = "he."

¹⁵⁹ MS = "he."

¹⁶⁰ The extant text of the story breaks off at this point.

Il posto della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk nella struttura della Chiesa Uniate dei secc. XVI-XVII

Dopo l'unione con Roma a Brest* nel 1596 di parte della gerarchia e dei fedeli della metropolia ortodossa di Kiev, la Chiesa cattolica di rito orientale dovette misurarsi con il problema dell'organizzazione della sua struttura interna. Il clero ed i fedeli ortodossi, dopo essere passati sotto la giurisdizione papale, non intendevano ricostruire tale struttura dalle fondamenta, perché ciò sarebbe stato in contrasto con l'idea di unione, perciò la soluzione logica fu quella di mutuare dalla Chiesa ortodossa tutta l'organizzazione ecclesiastica con i suoi beni (ovviamente, nella misura in cui era possibile in quel periodo).

Si giunse così ad una spaccatura nella Chiesa rutena: nessuna delle diocesi che costituivano la metropolia di Kiev era omogenea dal punto di vista confessionale. Parrocchie ortodosse confinavano con quelle uniati, ed entrambe le società — quella ortodossa e quella uniate — si ritenevano eredi dirette della tradizione della metropolia prima dell'Unione. Si arrivava così a divisione interne nei confini delle singole diocesi, ed anche a certi aggiustamenti nei loro confini, che erano del resto modificati anche dai mutamenti politici e militari nella *Respubblica* delle Due Nazioni, che segnarono in particolare il XVII secolo. Tutto ciò comportava variazioni nella situazione dei possedimenti della Chiesa ortodossa e degli Uniati¹ e infine, nella seconda metà del XVII secolo, portò alla distruzione totale delle ripartizioni territoriali tradizionali.

Tali cambiamenti non risparmiarono nemmeno la diocesi di Turów e Pińsk², dove soprattutto nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo, in seguito alla situazione dinamica sia degli Uniati, sia della Chiesa ortodossa, si ar-

* I nomi propri di persona ed i toponimi nel saggio saranno riportati nella forma polacca, dato che il testo riflette il punto di vista polacco sull'epoca. Saranno usati toponimi diversi solo quando esiste un corrispondente italiano (come nel caso di Leopoli) o quando nell'uso italiano si è affermata una data forma: è il caso di Kiev o di Brest, città il cui nome ricorre nella denominazione dell'Unione ecclesiastica degli anni 1595-1596.

¹ W. Kolbuk, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku. Struktury administracyjne*, Lublin 1998, p. 30.

² Oggi rispettivamente Turaŭ e Pinsk, in Bielorussia.

rivò a trasformazioni nelle strutture organizzative. Il processo di passaggio di singole chiese ortodosse nelle mani ora degli uniati, ora degli ortodossi, era oramai diventato una condizione permanente, perciò è difficile delimitare i periodi in cui una certa confessione era dominante nelle terre di questa diocesi.

La struttura organizzativa uniata, a parte le terre conquistate nel 1668 dalla Moscovia, comprendenti i territori lungo la riva sinistra del fiume Dnepr e la città di Kiev, restò in vigore fino alle spartizioni della *Respubblica*. A cavallo tra il XVII e il XVIII secolo essa contava otto diocesi, proprio come la Chiesa ortodossa nello Stato polacco-lituano nel XVI secolo³.

Nel 1720 il Sinodo di Zamość restituì alla metropolia di Kiev un territorio relativamente stabile, che era però diverso, e talora in modo significativo, dall'assetto più antico⁴. Attorno al 1772 la metropolia occupava una superficie di oltre duecentomila chilometri quadrati, ovvero circa la metà di tutto il territorio appartenente agli uniati. Ben più piccola era la diocesi di Połock⁵, seguita nell'ordine da quelle di Leopoli, Płock, Włodzimierz⁶, Turów e Pińsk, Przemyśl e infine Chełm (v. tab. I⁷).

³ Diocesi uniati: la diocesi metropolitana di Kiev (detta anche di Kiev e Vilna), di Połock, di Leopoli, di Łuck, di Włodzimierz, di Turów e Pińsk, di Przemyśl e di Chełm. L. Bieńkowski, *Oświecenie i katastrofa rozbiorów (druga połowa XVIII wieku)*, in: *Chrześcijaństwo w Polsce. Zarys przemian 966-1979*, red. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1992, p. 864.

⁴ Cfr. le osservazioni che, benché riferite alla diocesi di Chełm, illustrano un fenomeno di più ampia portata nella pubblicazione: A. Gil, *Chełmska diecezja unicka 1596-1810. Dzieje i organizacja*, Lublin 2005, pp. 141-149. Cfr. anche L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce*, in: *Kościół w Polsce*, II, red. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1969, pp. 860-861.

⁵ Oggi Polack, in Bielorussia.

⁶ Oggi Volodymyr-Volynskyj in Ucraina, detta in italiano Lodomeria.

⁷ La tabella è stata elaborata sulla base dei calcoli di L. Bieńkowski e W. Kołbuk e sulla scorta di ricerche autonome, che nel caso della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk restituiscono un'immagine più realistica. L. Bieńkowski ha delimitato erroneamente le zone abitate da popolazione uniata a nord e ad ovest, mentre W. Kołbuk ha eseguito i suoi calcoli "sulla base della rete di parrocchie uniati riportata nella mappa" (W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku*, p. 33). In relazione ai calcoli sulla grandezza della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk le tesi degli studiosi qui citati vanno sottoposte a verifica, poiché dalle ricerche condotte emerge che la diocesi in oggetto si estendeva molto di più verso est (fino al lago Spierżyn) di quanto non risultasse dalle ricerche condotte finora. L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego...*, p. 864, W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej 1772-1914*, Lublin 1992, pp. 55-57; idem, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 r.*, tab. I, p. 33. Si vedano anche le cartine in questo saggio *La diocesi uniata di Turów e Pińsk con la suddivisione in decanati attorno al 1772* e *La diocesi uniata di Turów e Pińsk con la suddivisione in decanati negli anni Ottanta del XVIII sec.*

Tab. I: Superficie delle diocesi uniati (in km²)
sulla base dei calcoli di L. Bieńkowski e W. Kołbuk

Diocesi	Secondo L. Bieńkowski	Secondo W. Kołbuk
metropolitana	264 200	222 000
Di Połock	82 100	77 000
Di Leopoli	47 100	45 800
Di Łuck	35 300	34 600
Di Włodzimierz	28 100	30 100
Di Turów e Pińsk	25 200	24 000
Di Przemyśl	24 900	23 600
Di Chełm	22 100	21 000

Dai calcoli effettuati finora risulta che la diocesi di Turów e Pińsk dal punto di vista dell'estensione occupava il sesto posto nella metropoli di Kiev (nell'ordine, dopo la diocesi metropolitana, quella di Połock, di Leopoli, di Łuck⁸ e di Włodzimierz)⁹. Più piccole erano le due diocesi di Przemyśl e Chełm. È qui opportuno rilevare che nel caso della diocesi di nostro interesse abbiamo a che fare con il territorio specifico della Polessia, un terreno paludoso in cui il dato della superficie media di ogni parrocchia rischia di essere fuorviante, perché in realtà una notevole parte è costituita da zone disabitate. Dai calcoli dell'autore del presente saggio risulta che la superficie della diocesi in oggetto era notevolmente maggiore di quanto non abbiano supposto finora gli esperti del tema, perché finora non era stata compresa in questa diocesi la provincia di Mozyrz (oggi Mazyr – Ма́зір, in Bielorussia). Le ricerche effettuate consentono di affermare che la diocesi uniata di Turów e Pińsk alla metà del XVIII sec. contava una superficie di circa 35.000 km², il che la pone al quinto posto dietro la diocesi metropolitana e quelle di Połock, Leopoli e Łuck. Bisogna inoltre considerare che l'aggiunta della provincia di Mozyrz alla nostra diocesi implica il suo distacco dalla superficie della diocesi metropolitana, la cui superficie diminuisce dunque di circa 10.000 km².

⁸ Oggi Luc'k, in Ucraina.

⁹ Secondo i calcoli di W. Kołbuk la diocesi di Turów e Pińsk attorno al 1772 aveva una superficie di 24.000 km², mentre secondo L. Bieńkowski di 25.200 km². W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku*, p. 33; L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego...*, p. 864; H. Dylągowa, *Kościół unicki na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej 1596-1918. Zarys problematyki*, "Przegląd Wschodni", II, 1992/1993, 2 (6), p. 265.

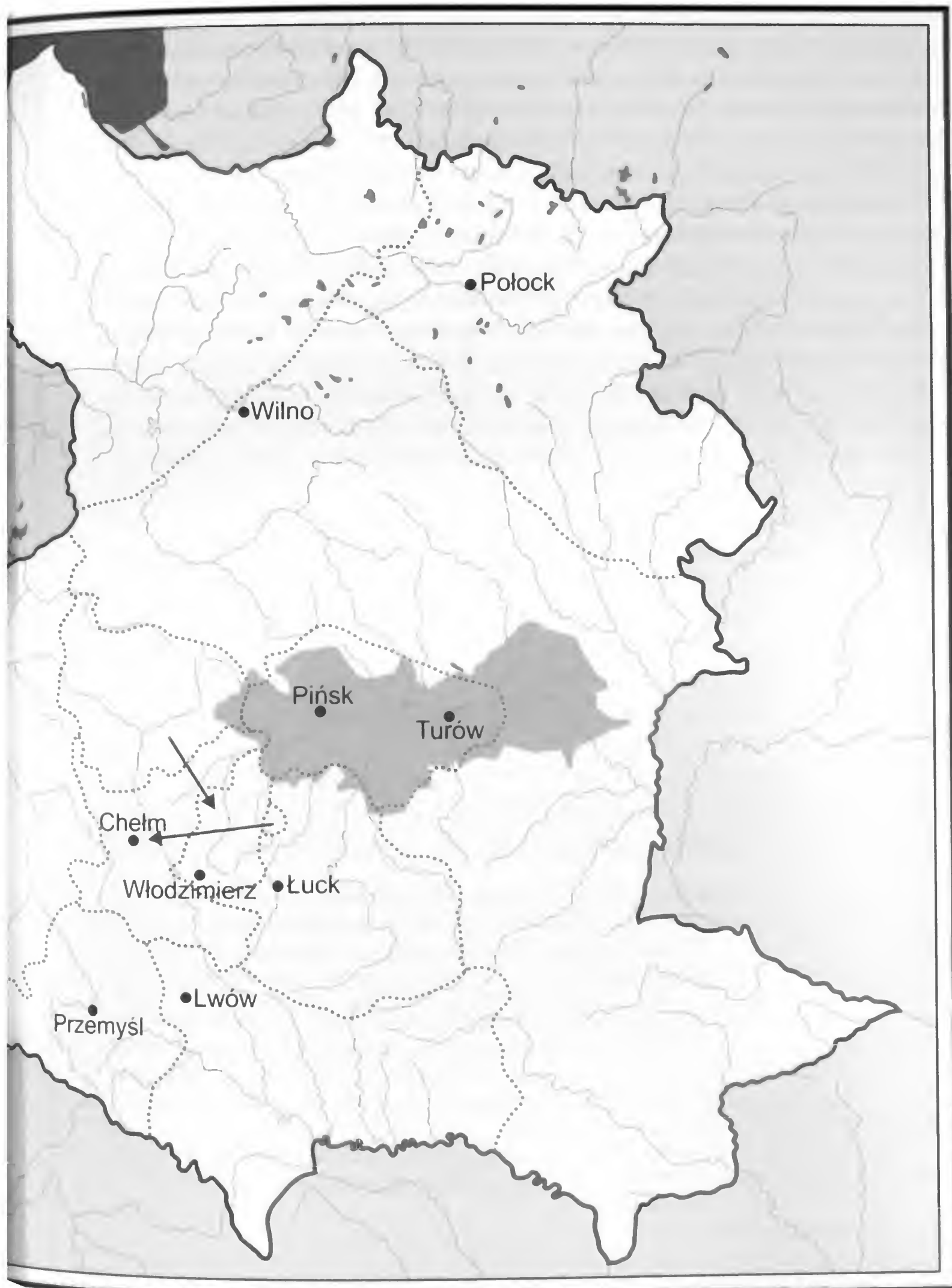
1. *L'estensione territoriale della diocesi uniate di Turów e Pińsk*

Non disponiamo di fonti che trasmettano dati geografici esatti sulla diocesi di Turów e Pińsk nel XVII sec. Ciò dipende certamente dal fatto che la diocesi in quel secolo dovette affrontare continui attacchi, pertanto è difficile cogliere lo stato di una Chiesa costantemente in lotta per le anime già conquistate, che sempre più spesso passavano alla Chiesa ortodossa. Un ulteriore problema nasceva poi all'interno della diocesi: i proprietari terrieri contendevano ai vescovi i beni, sfruttando talvolta il loro indebolimento. I vescovi stessi spesso non erano sicuri di quale territorio rientrasse nei confini della loro diocesi.

Inoltre, gli sconvolgimenti politici potevano far sì che cambiassero le terre che rientravano nella diocesi. Probabilmente al territorio che nel XVI secolo occupava la diocesi ortodossa, nel periodo dell'Unione fu unita la provincia di Mozyrz¹⁰. Sembra che questi terreni siano entrati a far parte della diocesi qui studiata dopo un conflitto tra la provincia di Mozyrz e il voivoda di Kiev, al quale pose fine solo una commissione appositamente convocata nel 1609 per

¹⁰ A. Mironowicz nella sua più recente pubblicazione riguardante la storia della diocesi ortodossa di Turów e Pińsk non comprende la provincia di Mozyrz all'interno dei suoi confini, il che conferma la tesi dell'inclusione di queste terre solo nel periodo dell'Unione. A. Mironowicz, *Biskupstwo turowsko-pińskie w XI-XVI wieku*, Białystok 2011.





I confini delle diocesi uniati nella *Respublica* delle Due Nazioni nella seconda metà del XVIII sec. secondo W. Walczak.

la definizione dei confini delle terre contese¹¹. La ripartizione fu confermata nel 1613¹². È da ritenere che dai tempi della discussa sentenza degli anni 1609-1613 la provincia di Mozyrz con le sue parrocchie iniziasse ad essere inclusa nella diocesi uniata di Turów e Pińsk¹³. Da allora queste terre, che il vescovo di Turów e Pińsk difese nell'ennesima lite col metropolita di Kiev nel 1769, non saranno più unite alla diocesi metropolitana¹⁴.

Trattando dell'unione della provincia di Mozyrz alla diocesi di nostro interesse occorre soffermarsi sulla questione della proprietà di questa terra, giacché essa consentirà di raffigurare il meccanismo di appropriazione dei terreni da parte del vescovo e di illustrare le argomentazioni del vescovo di Turów e Pińsk, che rivendicava la giurisdizione su questi territori. La fonte della contesa sull'appartenenza della provincia di Mozyrz erano le differenze fra la suddivisione delle proprietà terriere e i confini amministrativi, il che era collegato al profondo attaccamento del proprietario di certi beni alla religione: ciò comportava l'assunzione della confessione del proprietario da parte della comunità che abitava certi terreni. Così fu anche nel caso della provincia di Mozyrz, come informa il documento *Informazione sulla situazione delle parrocchie di Mozyrz che sono rappresentate come appartenenti alla diocesi di Turów*¹⁵. Da esso apprendiamo che i beni di Turów e Śniadyń erano stati conferiti da Sigismondo Augusto al vescovo di Turów e Pińsk dopo che si era spenta la linea dei principi ruteni Ostrogski¹⁶. A cavallo tra il 1563 e il 1564 Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski ereditò Turów, 9 tenute e ben 48 villaggi (dei quali più di una decina era concessa in uso ai vescovi di Turów e Pińsk, e uno era destinato direttamente ad una delle chiese di Turów) da sua madre Aleksandra, della casata dei principi di Słuck¹⁷. La principessa di Słuck aveva ricevuto il patrimonio in uso perpetuo dal marito (disposizione del 1528), l'etmanno Konstanty

¹¹ VL t. 2, Petersburg 1859, pp. 473-474. V. anche: *Сборник материалов для исторической топографии Киева и его окрестностей, изданный Комиссией для разбора древних актов, состоящей при Киевском, Подольском и Волынском генерал-губернаторе*, 1874; П. Шпилевский, *Мозырищина (из путешествия по западнорусскому краю)*, in: *Архив исторических и практических сведений, относящихся до России*, кн. 3, отд. 2, Санкт-Петербург 1859, pp. 1-49; W. Bobiński, *Województwo kijowskie w czasach Zygmunta III Wazy. Studium osadnictwa i stosunków własności ziemskiej*, Warszawa 2000; E. Rulikowski, *Opis powiatu kijowskiego*, Kijów – Warszawa 1913.

¹² VL t. 3, Petersburg 1859, p. 101. Va rilevato che Sigismondo III nel 1597 conferì al clero ruteno la "libertà dagli influssi del voivoda". Certamente ciò contribuì al conflitto tra il voivoda e la provincia di Mozyrz. SGKP, t. VI, pp. 755-756.

¹³ Lo confermano anche fonti del XVIII sec.: *Informatio de Statu Mozyrensi...* *Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas* (d'ora in avanti: LVIA), ф. 634, ap. 2, bylų 94, cc. 21-22v.

¹⁴ LVIA, ф. 597, ap. 2, bylų 94, cc. 9r-13r.

¹⁵ Ibidem, cc. 21-22v.

¹⁶ Ibidem, c. 21r.

¹⁷ Oggi Słuck, in Bielorussia.

Ostrogski, morto nel 1530. A sua volta, questi aveva ricevuto queste terre, appartenute al traditore Michał Gliński, dal re nel 1508, come ricompensa per avere soffocato la sua rivolta contro Sigismondo il Vecchio; la concessione fu sancita in via definitiva con sentenza del tribunale di Sigismondo il Vecchio del 1539, a conclusione del processo fra la vedova dell'etmano e il figlio di primo letto che questi aveva avuto dal primo matrimonio, Il'ja-Elias. Nel 1564 la vedova di Il'ja, Beata, ormai già Łaska, cercò di far valere i suoi diritti su questi possedimenti, ma Sigismondo Augusto prese le parti di Konstanty Ostrogsky, che grazie a questo fatto non ebbe probabilmente problemi nel prendere possesso delle terre contese¹⁸.

Secondo un documento pietroburghese del 1603 gli Ostrogski trasferirono sotto la diocesi di Turów e Pińsk, fra le altre, le seguenti terre: i villaggi di Olhomle, Simonicze, una tenuta nei pressi di Turów e Oszowiec, Zamosze, Śmiedyn, Sostowicze (villaggio con tenuta agricola), Bołoszewicze, Hlinnicza, Doroszewicze, Wyrołków, Kopciewicze, Hołubka, Turek, Mojzejowicze, Mordnim, Makarycze, Melawsko, Ostrów, Machniowicze. Invece i villaggi di Dworzec i Chocim appartenevano al "pope Mikuliński". Il fatto che gli Ostrogski abbiano trasferito una quantità così cospicua di possedimenti faceva sì che nel XVI sec. essi esercitassero un influsso fortissimo nel decidere chi doveva occupare la diocesi oggetto del nostro studio¹⁹.

L'importanza della fonte menzionata, che ha permesso di ricavare i dati forniti sopra, è legato al fatto che essa dà notizia di altri documenti che erano in possesso dell'allora vescovo di Turów e Pińsk, Gedeon Daszkiewicz-Horbacki. Dal loro contenuto emergerebbe che nel 1608 i possedimenti di Mozyrz con le relative pertinenze appartenevano ad Ostrogski, perciò tutta la provincia di Mozyrz era proprietà di questo casato. Secondo gli autori della *Informacja o położeniu parafii mozyrskich...* [Informazione sulla situazione delle parrocchie di Mozyrz] la giurisdizione del vescovo di Turów e Pińsk su queste terre all'inizio del XVII sec. escludeva ogni diritto su di essi da parte del metropolita di Kiev. Il vescovo di Turów e Pińsk, inoltre, sosteneva la tesi dell'appartenenza del decanato di Mozyrz alla sua diocesi col fatto che esso non era menzionato negli inventari dei tempi del metropolita Atanazy Szeptycki (1728-1746)²⁰.

¹⁸ И. Малиновский, Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории панов-рады Великого княжества Литовского, ч. 2, Томск 1912, п. 40; Т. Кемпа, Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525-1608). Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej, Toruń 1997, pp. 172-173.

¹⁹ Российский государственный исторический архив, Санкт-Петербург, Фонд 823, оп. 1, нр. 262.

²⁰ "[...] vi è sì un documento (alla lettera H) dell'illustrissimo metropolita Szeptycki, ma in esso non si fa alcuna menzione del decanato di Mozyrz, viene solo riconosciuto il potere spirituale delegato su altre diocesi metropolitane. Poiché nemmeno da questo documento

Dell'assetto della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk dopo l'annessione definitiva della provincia di Mozyrz si può dire già abbastanza sulla scorta delle fonti per la seconda metà del XVIII sec. La diocesi comprendeva allora le seguenti aree: i territori della Polessia, le province di Pińsk e Mozyrz, e, dopo le riforme amministrative del 1566, anche i territori del voivodato di Brest-Litovsk²¹ con due province: Pińsk e Brest. Alcune parrocchie appartenevano alla provincia di Słonim²². Alcuni dei dati che ci aiutano a definire l'estensione territoriale della diocesi di nostro interesse ci sono forniti dal resoconto redatto nella cancelleria del vescovo Gedeon Horbacki²³, che costituiva la risposta alle domande poste dalla Santa Sede a tutti i vescovi uniati. In questo documento, che si trova oggi nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano²⁴, intitolato *Responsio ad questia Ill[ustrissi]mi Exc[el]ll[issi]mi ac Rev[erendissi]mi D[omi]ni Nuncii Apostolici in Regno Poloniarum et magno Ducatu Litt[uaniae] prius diligenter rebus omnibus examinatis per me Gedeonem Horbacki Ep[isco]pum Pinscensem et Turoviensem Datum Anno 1773. Mense Februarii Die 26*, sono poste anche domande sull'estensione della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk:

Ad quaesitum quousque extenduntur limites istius dioecesis Pinscen[sis] Graeco-Uniti Populi? Quot et quos Palatinatus, Castellanas, aliosque Districtus

emerge alcuna menzione del decanato di Mozyrz, si può piuttosto concludere che esso si trovava sotto la giurisdizione del vescovo di Pińsk, e il metropolita Szeptycki lo riconosceva". LVIA, φ. 597, ap. 2, byłu 94, c. 21v.

²¹ I nomi sono indicati seguendo: *Metryka litewska. Rejstry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Województwo brzeskie litewskie 1667-1690 r.*, oprac. A Rachuba, Warszawa 2000.

²² Oggi Słonim, in Bielorussia. Archivio Segreto Vaticano (in seguito – ASV), Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 140, cc. 431-431v; H. Dylągowa, *Kościół unicki...*, p. 265.

²³ Iosephus Garampi, aeppus Berythensis, nunzio apostolico nella *Respublica* (20 marzo 1772 - 16 marzo 1776), vescovo di Montefiascone e Corneto (1776) poi cardinale (1785), che nel 1752 divenne prefetto dell'archivio della Basilica di San Pietro, e negli anni 1761-1764, in qualità di archivista della Santa Sede, apportò un notevole contributo all'organizzazione dell'Archivio Vaticano. Il suo lavoro di archivista ha permesso di studiare documenti esatti riguardanti fra l'altro gli uniati nella *Respublica*. Sull'attività del vescovo G. Garampi si veda: D. Vanysacker, *Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi (1752-1792): an Enlightened Ultramontane*, Brussels 1995.

²⁴ ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 140, c. 431v. Questo documento è la risposta alle domande della Segreteria di Stato della Santa Sede, che furono inviate in forma di questionario alle parrocchie uniati e che riguardavano il numero di chiese, sacerdoti, fedeli, la quantità di monasteri. Il questionario doveva contenere anche domande riguardanti l'Ortodossia, sugli stessi argomenti su cui venivano interrogati gli uniati. In Vaticano si trova una lettera della Segreteria di Stato della Santa Sede del 1771 diretta ai vescovi di Pińsk, che contiene domande precise alle quali i vescovi erano chiamati a rispondere: ASV, Segreteria di Stato: Polonia, vol. 285, c. 124v.

Terrestres, nec non Latinorum Ep[isco]porum dioeceses comprehendat vel intesecet?²⁵

Nella risposta il vescovo elenca le terre che erano sotto la sua giurisdizione:

L'area di questa diocesi di Pińsk è la quasi totalità della provincia di Pińsk, oltre ad alcune chiese parrocchiali, che sono situate nel voivodato di Nowogródek²⁶ e di Brest; ne deriva che quest'area è delimitata dal voivodato di Nowogródek, dalla provincia di Słonim, dal voivodato di Brest, dalla terra di Chełm, dalla provincia di Łuck, dal voivodato di Kiev, da una buona metà della provincia di Owruć²⁷, dalla provincia di Mozyrz; contiene le diocesi di vescovi latini, ma non coincidenti con la diocesi di Pińsk, bensì le diocesi di Łuck e Vilna. La diocesi di Turów invece è tutta la provincia di Mozyrz e parte di quella di Pińsk, è delimitata tutt'attorno dal voivodato di Nowogródek, dalla provincia di Rzeczyca, dalla provincia di Owruć. In questa diocesi di Turów la maggior parte è la diocesi latina del vescovo di Vilna, tranne una chiesa di Turów, che appartiene alla diocesi di Łuck²⁸.

Si può avanzare la tesi che il citato documento sia la fonte che fornisce l'immagine più esatta dei territori della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk. Inoltre, la questione oggetto del presente studio è stata trattata in essa in modo complessivo, perché ai territori della diocesi uniate di Turów e Pińsk nella seconda metà del XVIII sec. sono stati aggiunti anche i territori che si trovavano nei voivodati di Łuck, Nowogródek e Brest, con la provincia di Słonim, la terra di Chełm, le province di Łuck, di Owruć, Mozyrz e Rzeczyca.

Come si vede nel frammento citato, nel definire i confini della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk il vescovo la divide in due parti, la zona di Turów e quella di Pińsk, il che appare del tutto sensato, considerando la sua ampia

²⁵ ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 140, c. 431v.: "Per quanto riguarda la domanda su fin dove si estendano i confini della diocesi di Pińsk col popolo greco-uniate, su quanti e quali voivodati, castellanie ed altre province e anche diocesi di vescovi latini contenga o attraversi".

²⁶ Oggi Navahrudak, in Bielorussia.

²⁷ Oggi Ovruč, in Ucraina.

²⁸ "Ecclesias Parochialos, quae sitae sunt in palatinatu Novogrodensi et Brestensis, et sic circum circa limitati nempe palatinatu Novogrodensi, districtu Słomscensi, palatinatu Brestensi, Terra Chelmensi, districtu Luceoriensi, palatinatu Kijovensi, signanter semi-districtu Owrućensi, et districtu Mozyrensi, dioeceses autem Latinorum Ep[isco]porum comprehendit, licet [k. 431v.] non integras Dioecesis Pinscensis has, nempe, Dioecesim Luceoriensem et Vilnensem. Dioecesis autem Turoviensis est totus districtus Mozyrensis, et ex parte Pinscensis, limitatur autem circumcirca palatinatu Novogrodensi, districtu Rzeczyccensi, districtu Owrućensi. In hac autem dioecesi Turoviensis maxima ex parte est diocesis latini Ep[isco]pi Vilnensis, preter unicum Ecclesiam Turoviensem, quod ad Luceoriensem Ep[isco]pum Latinum pertinent". Ibidem, c. 431r-431v.

estensione. Questa suddivisione amministrativa della diocesi in due parti compare anche nell'elenco composto probabilmente nel 1754 dal basiliano del monastero di Torokanie, il vicario generale del vescovo di Turów e Pińsk, Tadeusz Zaruski, intitolato *Episcopatus Pinscensis et Turoviensis*²⁹. Nella diocesi di Pińsk sono menzionati qui 10 decanati: di Pińsk, Janów, Drohiczyń, Bezdzież, Łahiczyń, Kożanogród, Pohost, Stoliń, Nobel e Lubieszów³⁰. Nella parte di Turów c'erano tre decanati: di Turów, Petryków e Mozyrz, e dagli anni settanta del XVIII sec. anche il decanato di Uborc³¹.

Ulteriori informazioni sulla suddivisione sono fornite da documenti redatti dalla cancelleria del vescovo di Turów e Pińsk³² e dalle visite pastorali diocesane, dai quali risulta che nella zona di Turów faceva le veci del vescovo il vicario generale, responsabile anche delle visite pastorali da lui effettuate³³. Nella zona di Pińsk ogni decisione era presa dal vescovo stesso o da un suo emissario.

2. *Le fonti per la determinazione della struttura della diocesi uniate di Turów e Pińsk*

L'immagine più completa delle strutture delle singole diocesi, della suddivisione in decanati e della rete parrocchiale ci è fornita oggi dalle visite pastorali. Queste fonti hanno tre pregi innegabili: sono, in primo luogo, abbastanza complete (cioè contengono elenchi delle singole parrocchie); in secondo luogo, illustrano la proprietà delle singole chiese, giacché descrivono ciò che ha trovato e visto il visitatore; in terzo luogo, costituiscono un materiale attendibile per valutare la struttura della diocesi e la proprietà dei singoli templi³⁴, poiché erano destinate

²⁹ LVIA, ф. 597, ап. 2, был. 94, cc. 18r-18v. L'elenco è stato redatto senz'altro sulla scorta dei dati ricavati dalla visita pastorale compiuta da Zaruski in qualità di vicario generale della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk negli anni 1754-1755. Нацыянальным музеі гісторыі і культуры Беларусі, Мінск, ф. 10977.

³⁰ LVIA, ф. 597, ап. 2, был. 94, с. 18.

³¹ Ibidem, с. 18v.

³² Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника, Львів, ф. 3, спр. MB-820, с. 62 k.

³³ Ne è un esempio il documento: ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 140, c. 431v.

³⁴ A causa della mancanza allo stato attuale di letteratura scientifica sulle informazioni riguardanti le visite pastorali della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk (questi atti erano sconosciuti nella storiografia) viene proposta una bibliografia riguardante in generale le visite pastorali come fonte storica. Toccando questa problematica: S. Litak, *Akta wizytacyjne parafii z XVI-XVIII wieku jako źródło historyczne*, "Zeszyty Naukowe KUL", V, 1962, 3 (19), pp. 41-58 (qui c'è anche letteratura in cui sono usate spesso le visite pastorali come fonte principale per altre elaborazioni, per esempio per atlanti storici); P. Sygowski, *Unicka diecezja chełmska w*

principalmente alle autorità diocesane come *fonte primaria sul suo stato attuale*³⁵. Lo storico moderno in questi atti trova un approccio poliedrico alla storia dell'Unione.

protokołach wizytacyjnych biskupa Maksymiliana Ryłty z lat 1759-1762, in: *Polska-Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, t. 5: *Miejsce i rola Kościoła greckokatolickiego w Kościele powszechnym*, red. S. Stępień, Przemyśl 2000, pp. 233-285; Z. Budzyński, *Nieznane spisy dekanalne eparchii lwowskiej jako źródła do dziejów pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII w.*, in: *Historia - archiwistyka - ludzie. Księga pamiątkowa w pięćdziesiątą rocznicę powołania Archiwum Państwowego w Rzeszowie*, red. J. Basta, G. Zamoyski, Warszawa-Rzeszów 2000, pp. 39-56; B. Bodzioch-Kazanowska, *Unickie parafie patronatu królewskiego w dekanacie gródeckim w świetle wizytacji z lat 1764-1765*, "Nasza Przyszłość", 2000, n. 93, pp. 49-81; M. Kaznowski, *Parafie unickiego dekanatu krośnieńskiego w świetle akt wizytacyjnych z 1742 r.*, "Prace Historyczno-Archiwalne", 1999, n. 7, pp. 31-51; un'edizione di fonti con un accurato apparato critico: *Księga wizyty dziekańskiej dekanatu podlaskiego przeze mnie księdza Bazylego Benedykta Guttorskiego dziekana podlaskiego, plebana golniewskiego w roku 1773 miesiąca Novembra dnia 17 iuxta vetus kalendarza sporządzona*, oprac. J. Maroszek, W. Wilczewski, Białystok 1996, pp. 5-19; P. Sygowski, *Dekanat kaszogrodzki unickiej diecezji chełmskiej*, in: *Zamojszczyzna i Wołyń w minionym tysiącleciu Historia, kultura i sztuka*, red. J. Feduszko i in., Zamość 2000, pp. 120-126; Z. Szanter, *Opis dekanatu jaśliskiego sporządzony w 1761 roku przez księdza dziekana Aleksandra de Unihof Stebnickiego, parocha szklarskiego*, in: *Sztuka cerkiewna w diecezji przemyskiej. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej 25-26 marca 1995 roku*, red. J. Giemza i A. Stepan, Łańcut 1999, pp. 340-361. Fra i lavori interessanti dedicati all'Unione, basati in gran parte sulle visite pastorali, vanno menzionati i lavori dello studioso ucraino prof. Ihor Skočyljas: I. Скочилиас, *Акти духовних судів українських церковних установ XVII-XVIII ст.* (За матеріалами виїзних засідань єпископсько-консисторського суду Львівської єпархії 1700-1725 років), "Вісник львівського університету" 1999, серія історична, вип. 34; idem, *Генеральні візитації в українсько-білоруських єпархіях Київської уніатської митрополії. 1596-1720 роки*, "Записки НТШ", т. 238, (Праці Історично-філософської секції), Львів 1999; idem, *Дволикий Янус: Шаргородська протопопія на Поділлі в першій третині XVII ст.*, "Вісник львівського університету", 2002, серія історична, вип. 37; idem, *Джерельна евристика візитаційної документації львівської єпархії XVIII ст. у Галичині та на Поділлі в другій половині XIX - 1930-х роках*, in: *Студії з архівної справи та документознавства*, т. 7, Київ 2001; idem, *Документи архіву кам'янецької уніатської консисторії XVIII ст. у фондах Кам'янець-Подільського музею-заповідника*, in: *Матеріали засідень Історичної та Археографічної комісії НТШ в Україні* 2, ред. Я. Грицак та ін., Львів 1999; idem, *Недатований реєстр духовенства, церков і монастирів львівської єпархії за владництва Йосифа Шумлянського*, "Записки НТШ", т. 240, Праці Комісії спеціальних (допоміжних) історичних дисциплін, Львів 2000; idem, *Неопублікована праця з історії уніатської Церкви на правобережній Україні XVIII ст.*, *Матеріали засідань*, 2, Львів 1999; idem, *Протоколи генеральної візитації Львівської єпархії 1730-1733 рр. як історичне джерело*, Київ 1999; idem, *Протоколи єпископських і деканських візитацій церков Київської уніатської митрополії XVIII ст.*, in: *Рукописна україніка у фондах Львівської Наукової Бібліотеки ім. В. Стефаника НАН України та проблеми створення інформаційного банку даних. Матеріали міжнародної науково-практичної конференції 20-21 вересня 1996 року*, Львів 1999. Tra i più importanti va annoverata la monografia: *Генеральні візитації київської унійної митрополії XVII-XVIII століть. Львівсько-Галицько-Кам'янецька єпархія*, т. 2: *Протоколи генеральних візитацій*, Львів 2004. Alcuni lavori dedicati alle visite pastorali editi in Occidente: G. Le Bras, *Enquête sur les visites de paroisses*, "Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France" 1946, t. 35, nr. 125, pp. 39-41; N. Greinacher, *Soziologie der Pfarrei. Wege zur Untersuchung*, Colmar-Freiburg 1955.

³⁵ S. Litak, *Akta wizytacyjne...*, p. 46.

Essi possono essere la base per monografie di vario tipo su vari ambiti e per definizioni e per studi geografici e statistici principalmente riguardanti la sfera confessionale. Ciascuna delle questioni elencate, sulla base delle relazioni delle visite apostoliche e di altri materiali integrativi, può essere rappresentata dal punto di vista cartografico e statistico. Sembra che esse siano addirittura *l'unico documento che racchiude in un certo senso tutto il complesso della vita delle parrocchie*³⁶.

Nel caso della diocesi di nostro interesse disponiamo — con l'eccezione del registro delle visite del villaggio di Mołodów del 1698³⁷, scoperto casualmente — soprattutto di visite pastorali effettuate dopo il Sinodo di Zamość del 1720. Durante questo sinodo fu elaborato un formulario con le domande che dovevano essere poste dal visitatore ai parroci delle singole parrocchie, il che consentì di unificare il materiale raccolto in questo modo in tutta l'estensione delle diocesi uniati. Nelle visite che riguardano il tema delle nostre riflessioni, possiamo distinguere alcune questioni ricorrenti. Ogni verbale delle visite era diviso per decanati, nell'ambito dei quali erano descritte le parrocchie; nella descrizione di ogni parrocchia dovevano trovarsi la convocazione e la data della visita. In seguito la visita era suddivisa secondo lo schema seguente: "Visione ed inventario della Chiesa in oggetto, dei suoi arredi, dei fondi, della canonica e della Parrocchia", "Altari, immagini e altri ornamenti", "Argento, rame, stagno", "Paramenti del sacerdote e per il calice", "Paramenti dell'altare", "Libri ecclesiastici", "Campane, campanile", "Canonica", "Terreni ecclesiastici", "Parroco", "Parrocchia" e l'ultimo punto era "Decreto di riforma"³⁸. Inoltre si obbligarono i vescovi ed i visitatori a redigere i resoconti delle visite in due esemplari, dei quali uno restava nella parrocchia, mentre l'altro era trasmesso al concistoro diocesano³⁹.

Il presente lavoro si basa principalmente sulle relazioni delle visite situate nei seguenti luoghi: l'Archivio Storico Statale delle Bielorussia a Minsk (Нацыянальны гістарычны архів Беларусі), il Museo Nazionale di

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 57 (corsivo mio – W. W.).

³⁷ Санкт-Петербургски институт истории Российской академии наук, коллекция П. Н. Доброхотова (к. 52), оп. 2, нр. 5/7, (di qui in avanti: ИРИ РАН), с. 22rv.

³⁸ È lo schema più frequente. Talvolta ci si allontanava da alcuni punti, a seconda del patrimonio della chiesa o dell'assenza della necessità di redigere un decreto di riforma. Cfr. *Księga wizyty dziekańskiej dekanatu podlaskiego przeze mnie księdza Bazylego Benedykta Guttorskiego*, pp. 5-19.

³⁹ Sulle raccomandazioni del Sinodo di Zamość si veda: *Synod prowincjonalny ruski w Mieście Zamościu Roku 1720 odprawiony [...]*, Wilno 1735. Ristampa del capitolo *Pytania, które się maią czynić na Wizytach*, in: *Księga wizyty dziekańskiej...*, pp. 161-184. V. anche: A. Ciołka, *Synod Zamojski z 1720 r. i jego postanowienia*, "Almanach Diecezjalny", 2006, n. 2, pp. 9-39.

Storia e Cultura della Bielorussia a Minsk Нацыянальным музеі гісторыі і культуры Беларусі) e l'Istituto di Storia dell'Accademia delle Scienze Russa, Sezione di Pietroburgo (Институт Истории Российской Академии Наук); sono stati impiegati anche singoli estratti presenti all'Archivio Generale di Atti Antichi. Le visite pastorali accessibili negli archivi citati provengono soprattutto dal XVIII secolo, tuttavia non formano una raccolta completa. Mancano documenti relativi alle visite menzionate in registrazioni più tarde degli anni 1754, 1761, 1770-1771 e 1786-1787⁴⁰.

Le prove di ricostruzione della storia della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk qui presentate sono state arricchite grazie a relazioni frammentarie riguardanti l'aspetto delle singole parrocchie, relazioni conservate nell'Archivio Centrale degli Atti Antichi a Varsavia⁴¹. Molte informazioni sono state apportate anche da materiali che descrivono la storia più tarda delle parrocchie, ormai del XIX secolo. Questi documenti d'archivio, disponibile nella Biblioteca e Museo di Francisk Skaryna a Londra⁴², sono preziosi per gli studiosi dell'Unione soprattutto per la possibilità di definire le sorti delle parrocchie in epoca più tarda, dopo che erano passate nelle mani degli ortodossi.

Un altro genere di fonti che hanno permesso di definire la struttura organizzativa sono elenchi di vario genere di carattere complessivo e in forma di statistica. Queste relazioni sullo stato delle singole diocesi uniati, approntate su indicazione della Segreteria di Stato della Santa Sede o redatte per le necessità dell'amministrazione della diocesi, costituiscono informazioni preziose verificate dalla Nunziatura di Varsavia. Le descrizioni dei nunzi, e quindi di personaggi esterni, non implicati direttamente nella politica della *Respublica*, sono spesso una fonte di eccezionale interesse, grazie alla quale è possibile guardare con gli occhi di un osservatore esterno alla situazione della *Respublica* delle Due Nazioni⁴³.

Per le ricerche presentate in questo lavoro è stata importante anche l'opera *Dziennik czynności Jerzego Bułhaka* [Diario dell'attività di Jerzy

⁴⁰ Si vedano le visite pastorali del 1777 e 1787, in cui nelle singole parrocchie si vede l'informazione sui verbali della visita che si trovavano nella parrocchia. Нацыянальны гістарычны архів Беларусі (di qui in avanti: НГАБ), ф. 136, оп. 1, н. 41240, passim.

⁴¹ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (di qui in avanti: AGAD), Archiwum Radziwiłłów dz. VIII, segn. 179, 275, 443, 444, 445, 446, 455, 500, 503, 553, 554, 688, 720.

⁴² Pinsk Vicariate of the Orthodox Diocese of Minsk, The Library and Museum of Francisk Skaryna, London, cartelle I-VI.

⁴³ Si tratta innanzi tutto delle cosiddette *Tavole di Garampi* — la risposta alla lettera della Segreteria di Stato della Santa Sede del 1771, in cui si chiedevano dati riguardanti gli uniati e gli ortodossi. ASV, Segreteria di Stato: Polonia, vol. 285, c. 124v. Della raccolta delle informazioni si occupò il nunzio apostolico Giuseppe Garampi. ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 110, c. 2r-22v.

Bułhak], scritta da Jerzy Pakowski, degli anni trenta del XVIII sec.⁴⁴ Vi troviamo un elenco del clero intitolato *Regestr kapłanów diecezji Pińskiej y Turowskiej ze wszystkimi wakansami* [Registro dei sacerdoti della diocesi di Pińsk e Turów, comprese tutte le vacanze]⁴⁵, che conferma in grado notevole l'aspetto di almeno una parte della diocesi per gli anni trenta del XVIII sec., ma riguarda esclusivamente la parte uniate della diocesi di nostro interesse.

3. La ripartizione in decanati

La suddivisione della struttura diocesana della Chiesa cattolica di rito orientale in protopresbiterati / vicariati / decanati, tratta dalla tradizione ortodossa, restò in vigore nei secc. XVII e XVIII, e nell'ultimo secolo di esistenza della diocesi uniate di Turów e Pińsk si delineò la tendenza ad accrescere il numero di decanati e a diminuirne con ciò le dimensioni, il che naturalmente facilitava la gestione e il controllo delle singole unità amministrative della Chiesa⁴⁶. Questi cambiamenti non interessarono quasi per nulla la parte del Gran Principato di Lituania della diocesi metropolitana, dove, come osserva L. Bieńkowski, la rete di decanati praticamente non subì cambiamenti dalla seconda metà del XVII sec. fino alla fine del sec. XVIII, il che si spiega con lo sviluppo più debole della rete di parrocchie. Invece si può cogliere la tendenza opposta per la parte della diocesi metropolitana facente parte della Corona, dove osserviamo una notevole crescita del numero di decanati (1694 – 6 protopresbiterati, e già negli anni 1781-1787 ben 52)⁴⁷. Il fenomeno era legato ad una crescita più veloce delle reti parrocchiali nei territori che erano stati devastati nella seconda metà del XVII sec. e che erano diventate una sorta di “nuove” zone da colonizzare, più adatte al radicamento dell'Unione rispetto alle terre del Gran Principato⁴⁸.

La definizione della rete di decanati della diocesi uniate di Turów e Pińsk per il XVII sec. e gli inizi del XVIII non è oggi un compito facile. È noto che, come già ricordato, dopo l'Unione di Brest fu conservata la sud-

⁴⁴ Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa, Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskich (di qui in avanti: BN BOZ), n. 930.

⁴⁵ BN BOZ n. 930, cc. 97-98.

⁴⁶ L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego...*, p. 916. Una situazione simile ha luogo nel XVIII nella diocesi di Turów e Pińsk, in cui si crea un nuovo decanato, che prende il nome dal fiume Uborć. Национальный исторический архив Беларуси (da qui in avanti: НИАБ), ф. 136, оп. 1, д. 41240, cc. 247r-274v.

⁴⁷ *Epistolae metropolitaram Kiioviensium catholicorum*, vol. II, ed. A. G. Welykyj, Rome 1956, p. 304.

⁴⁸ L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego...*, p. 916.

divisione del tempo in protopresbiterati (chiamati anche vicariati), che dal sec. XVIII fu strutturata come sistema di decanati, con una precisazione dei compiti dei decani⁴⁹. Fino a poco tempo fa disponevamo solo dei dati elaborati da W. Kołbuk, che scrisse:

possiamo supporre che esistessero qui [nella diocesi di Turów e Pińsk prima dell'anno 1772 – W. W.] circa 10-12 decanati, che verosimilmente traevano il nome dalle località più grandi (cittadine) in questo territorio. Potevano quindi esserci i decanati seguenti: Dawigródek, Dąbrowica, Janów, Kozangródek, Lubieszów, Łachwa, Łahiszyn, Mozyrz, Nobel, Petryków, Pińsk, Turów, ma forse anche Horodno, Kopatkiewiczze, Skryhałów, Telechany, Tomaszgród e Wysock⁵⁰.

Sembra che tuttavia queste siano informazioni incomplete, infatti da fonti della prima metà del XVIII sec. risulta che nella diocesi di Turów e Pińsk esistevano 13 decanati: 10 nella parte della diocesi di Pińsk, che aveva i suoi centri a Pińsk, Stolin, Pohost, Nobel, Lubieszów, Janów, Drohiczyn (chiamata all'epoca Dorohiczyn di Polessia⁵¹), Bezdzież, Łahiczyn, Kozangródek, e 3 nella parte di Turów, con centri a Turów, Petryków e Mozyrz, e dopo il 1772 anche a Lelczyce (il quattordicesimo decanato è quello di Uborć)⁵². Questa lista si può redigere sulla base di elenchi e visite pastorali.

Una delle fonti su cui si basa tale lista è il *Diario dell'attività di Jerzy Bułhak*, scritto da Jerzy Pakowski⁵³, degli anni trenta del XVIII. In questo

⁴⁹ W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej 1772-1914*, pp. 83-85.

⁵⁰ Idem, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku*, pp. 42-43. L. Bieńkowski nel suo lavoro si è accinto per primo a definire il numero di decanati nelle singole diocesi uniati, ma solo per la diocesi di Turów e Pińsk non è riuscito ad elaborare alcuna stima. L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego*, p. 919.

⁵¹ Variante antico-polacca di Drohiczyn. Cfr. SGKP, t. II, Warszawa 1881, pp. 149-150; SGKP, t. XV, parte 1, p. 439.

⁵² Nel documento dell'Archivio Storico di Vilna manca una carta, in cui forse compariva l'elenco delle parrocchie dei decanati di Pińsk e Kozangródek, probabilmente sono dunque sedi di decanati. Questo documento indica in modo preciso le parrocchie ed il numero di chiese (su cui si dirà in seguito). LVIA, ф. 634, ap. 2, б. 968, cc. 2r-5v. Nell'inventario esso è erroneamente datato alla fine del XVII o all'inizio del XVIII sec., mentre risale probabilmente agli anni settanta del XVIII sec. Come data *post quem* va considerato l'anno 1772, allorché per incarico della Santa Sede fu redatto un elenco delle parrocchie. Questo documento in molti passi è un completamento del già citato documento del Vaticano (*Responsa ad questia Illustrissimo*, ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 140, cc. 430-431). Le cifre esatte delle parrocchie e dei sacerdoti dimostrano che si tratta piuttosto di un'integrazione del documento della Santa Sede, che era molto generico nelle statistiche.

⁵³ Probabilmente un basiliano, che prima di servire Bułhak risiedette a Vilna. Abbiamo un'informazione del 1727 secondo cui: "P. Jerzy Pakowski, Arcidiacono dell'Ordine di San

documento sono menzionati come protopresbiterati le seguenti località: Łahiczyn, Pohost (Zarzeczny e Suchodolny), Nobel, Janów, Bezdzież, Stolin, Dorohiczyn, Lubieszów, Pińsk e Turów⁵⁴. Non si tratta di una presentazione esatta dei decanati, infatti sono stati omessi Kożanogródek, Petryków e Mozyrz, il che può derivare da un elenco solo parziale del clero, che abbracciava solo la parte dell'eparchia facente capo a Pińsk⁵⁵.

La lista incompleta del *Diario dell'attività di Jerzy Bułhak*, è integrata dalle visite pastorali svolte nella diocesi in questione nella seconda metà del XVIII sec., che come sedi dei decanati menzionano: Mozyrz, Dorohiczyn, Kożanogródek, Łahiczyn, Lubieszów, Pińsk, Pohost, Stolin e Janów⁵⁶. Anche questi documenti appaiono incompleti. Anche se attualmente sono raccolti in un'unica cartella, alcuni di essi, che si distinguono notevolmente per le loro dimensioni, furono redatti in anni diversi (per lo più risalgono agli anni 1783-1784), il che può significare che in origine non erano conservati insieme⁵⁷. Proprio questi presupposti permettono di avanzare la tesi dell'incompletezza delle fonti e di considerare esatta, almeno per il XVIII secolo, la lista dei 14 decanati dell'eparchia di Turów e Pińsk menzionata in precedenza (comprendente anche il nuovo decanato di Uborć).

L'assetto della divisione in decanati nella diocesi considerata durò fino alla fine della sua esistenza, anche se fu minacciato a più riprese. La lotta per i territori induceva alcuni a minacciare la struttura ecclesiastica, come esemplificato da una disputa su un decanato registrata nel 1769. Il giorno 15 marzo di quell'anno il metropolita di Kiev e Vilna di allora, Felicjan Filip Wołodkowicz, indirizzò al decano di Mozyrz una lettera in cui esigeva il ritorno del decanato di Mozyrz alla diocesi metropolitana⁵⁸. D. Liseuczykau

Basilio e superiore dello stesso a Vilna, per cinque anni ha sofferto di podagra e nel camminare e nel muoversi avvertiva intensissimi dolori. Fu in cura da molti medici e provò i rimedi più svariati, ma tutto senza il minimo miglioramento. Tormentato da questa malattia, nel 1727 si recò dalla Madre di Dio di Częstochowa, per la quale provava una grande devozione. Tutti i parenti, i conoscenti e tutto il convento innalzarono preghiere incessanti alla Madre Santissima. E il malato, che i medici più rinomati non erano stati in grado di aiutare, in breve tempo si sentì del tutto guarito. Volendo dimostrare la sua gratitudine per il miracolo, si recò subito a Częstochowa, dove in segno di ringraziamento offrì due grandi ceri alla vergine e una tavoletta d'argento con la raffigurazione delle braccia e delle gambe storpiate dalla malattia". *Cuda i łaski działane za przyczyną Najświętszej Maryi Panny Częstochowskiej*, wyd. R. M. Łaziński, Częstochowa 1938, p. 93.

⁵⁴ *Dziennik czynności Jerzego Bułhaka, późniejszego biskupa pińsko-turowskiego pisany ręką Jerzego Pakowskiego w latach 1729-1737*, BN BOZ, mscr. n. 930, cc. 97r-98v.

⁵⁵ IPI PAH, cc. 1r-3v, 10r-13v.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, cc. 1r-37r.

⁵⁷ Dell'importanza degli atti relativi alle visitazioni apostoliche ha scritto S. Litak, *Akta wizytacyjne...*, pp. 41-58.

⁵⁸ Felicjan Filip Wołodkowicz a Mikołaj Przewałkowski, decano del decanato di Mozyrz. Przylepy 15.03.1769: "Al reverendissimo padre Mikołaj Przewałkowski, Decano di Mozyrz.

ascrive la rivendicazione del metropolita a proposito dei tentativi di acquisizione delle parrocchie di Mozyrz al complotto del metropolita col decano Przewańkowski⁵⁹, che avrebbe dovuto acconsentire al passaggio delle parrocchie del decanato al metropolita. Le fonti tuttavia non confermano questa tesi. Stando ad esse, il decano Przewańkowski appare un difensore del clero del suo decanato, del resto, solidalmente coi suoi ecclesiastici, consegnò nelle mani del vescovo Gedeon Daszkiewicz-Horbacki una protesta contro la restituzione da parte di Wołodkowicz del più grande decanato dell'eparchia di Turów e Pińsk⁶⁰. A questa lettera il vescovo rispose con un tono molto deciso, esprimendo la sua contrarietà e la sensazione di subire un'ingiustizia:

È pertanto cosa strana che l'Illustrissimo Metropolita si sforzi di fare torto alla nostra diocesi, già notoriamente povera. Ma la Reverendissima Potestà Vostra sa da dove ha avuto senza motivo origine la sua malevolenza nei miei confronti, che, diffondendosi, non cessa di tormentarmi. Io sono colpevole del fatto che l'Illustrissimo Metropolita, che aveva prodotto molta birra, si era nascosto da qualche parte a Serea nel periodo in cui io avevo bisogno di consacrare. E questa consacrazione è diventata la causa di tutto. Se intendesse sottrarmi questo decanato per una giusta causa, non mi lamenterei, né mi opporrei, ma ho giurato di preservare il bene della mia diocesi, perciò devo difendermi. Ciò è stato scritto per il rammarico, e per quanto riguarda gli interessi⁶¹.

La lettera fu scritta dal vescovo dopo che aveva ricevuto dai suoi parroci una missiva in cui gli ecclesiastici lo pregavano di aiutarli e di intervenire, richiamandosi alle statuizioni del Sinodo di Zamość e all'appartenenza se-

Parroco di Jurewicz, caro a noi in Cristo, salvezza nel Signore. Poiché dai tempi antichi e secondo diritti dimostrati il Decanato di Mozyrz apparteneva e deve appartenere alla nostra Arcidiocesi metropolitana, e Sua Grazia Illustrissima padre Jerzy Bułhak, vescovo di Pińsk e Turów, ebbe il permesso da Sua Grazia Illustrissima p. Florian Hrebniaci, di beata memoria, Arcivescovo Metropolita di tutta la Rus', nostro Antecessore, poi per nostra conferma *ad vitae suae tempora* lo ebbe unito alla Diocesi di Pińsk, per la qual cosa quando ora abbiamo avuto notizia della fine della sua vita mortale per i decreti divini, obblighiamo ed ordiniamo a Vostra Eccellenza, per una fede migliore, che con tutto il clero del tuo Decanato da questo momento faccia riferimento a noi o ai nostri vicari per tutte le necessità, e questo Decanato deve appartenere alla Surrogata della Polessia, a Sua Grazia p. Iwaszkiewicz, Surrogato della Polessia, e che tu stesso, personalmente, scelti due sacerdoti del Decanato, ti rechi immantinente da noi". LVIA, ф. 597, ap. 2, bylų 94, c. 9r.

⁵⁹ Д. Лісейчыкаў, Фарміраванне сеткі уніяцкіх парафіяў на тэрыторыі «Тураўскай епархіі» у 1596-1795 гг., in: *Kościół unicki w Rzeczypospolitej*, collana: *Zachowanie Polskiego Dziedzictwa Narodowego* n. 4, red. W. Walczak, Białystok 2010, pp. 90-91.

⁶⁰ Lettera del clero del decanato di Mozyrz a Gedeon Daszkiewicz-Horbacki, Kożanogródek 15.09.1769, LVIA, ф. 597, ap. 2, bylų 94, c. 11a.

⁶¹ LVIA, ф. 597, ap. 2, bylų 94, c. 13r.

colare alla diocesi di Turów e Pińsk⁶². In questa lettera i sacerdoti affermano: "non vogliamo riconoscere altri pastori all'infuori delle Loro Eccellenze i Vescovi di Pińsk e Turów"⁶³.

Nella sua risposta il metropolita si giustifica col fatto che molte chiese di rito orientale nel decanato conteso erano rimaste *ad Dioecesem Vilnensem*, il che del resto era vero, perché alcune chiese rientravano effettivamente nel collaterato del vescovo di Vilna, ma facevano parte della zona di spettanza del vescovo di Turów e Pińsk per quanto riguarda il mantenimento e la cura giurisdizionale ed erano nella sua diocesi. Il vescovo fa riferimento anche a documenti che indicano l'appartenenza del decanato di Mozyrz prima alla diocesi di Turów e poi a quella di Pińsk⁶⁴. Come già ricordato all'inizio del paragrafo, la zona di Mozyrz agli inizi del XVII sec. si trovava nel voivodato di Kiev e le sue parrocchie rientravano nella diocesi metropolitana, e da qui certamente nascevano le pretese del metropolita.

L'evento ricordato permette di trarre alcune importanti conclusioni riguardanti il funzionamento dell'eparchia di nostro interesse nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo. In primo luogo, il fatto che il conflitto sia stato deciso a favore del vescovo di Turów e Pińsk dimostra la crescente importanza di questo vescovo, che in teoria, in quanto di minore importanza nella gerarchia ecclesiastica, avrebbe dovuto avere la peggio rispetto al più potente metropolita uniate. Inoltre, è degno di attenzione l'attaccamento del clero del decanato al suo vescovo in tutta la questione. Si vede, infine, che anche negli anni settanta del XVIII sec. la struttura parrocchiale e dei decanati non si era ancora radicata, dal momento che sorgevano contese di questo genere, il che costituiva per i simpatizzanti dell'Ortodossia un segnale del fatto che le strutture uniati erano ben lontane dall'uniformità. Gli umori antiuniati erano rafforzati anche dall'intensa attività della gerarchia ortodossa negli anni sessanta del XVIII sec.⁶⁵

Va sottolineato che simili attriti fra gerarchi ecclesiastici non esaurivano la lista delle minacce alla stabilità della struttura della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk, in cui i cambiamenti territoriali della rete dei decanati non erano controllati completamente dalle autorità ecclesiastiche. Un certo ruolo spettava al fattore laico: la nascita e il funzionamento dei decanati nel XVII sec. erano legati strettamente alla struttura della proprietà terriera, che era determinata soprattutto dalla situazione politica. Nei territori di nostro

⁶² Lettera del clero del decanato di Mozyrz a Gedeon Daszkiewicz-Horbacki, Kożanogródek 15.09.1769, LVIA, ф. 597, ap. 2, был. 94, c. 11r.

⁶³ Ibidem.

⁶⁴ LVIA, ф. 597, ap. 2, был. 94, c. 13v.

⁶⁵ Д. Лісейчыкаў, *Фарміраванне сеткі уніяцкіх парафій*, pp. 91-92.

interesse essa rimaneva piuttosto complicata, perciò i vescovi non avevano un grande influsso sulla creazione di nuove strutture ecclesiastiche. Le sorti delle chiese erano decise piuttosto dai proprietari terrieri, che potevano decidere se sui loro possedimenti doveva sorgere un tempio oppure no. Come osserva L. Bieńkowski, nel secolo seguente la situazione cambiò nella maggior parte delle diocesi uniati, e il controllo sui protopresbiteri fu assunto dai vescovi. La diocesi di Turów e Pińsk con tutta evidenza non apparteneva però a questa maggioranza, perché ancora nella seconda metà del XVIII sec. era vigente il controllo dei proprietari terrieri sui parroci o le parrocchie, p. es. quasi metà delle parrocchie della provincia di Mozyrz (i decanati di Mozyrz e quello di Petryków) erano nel collatorato della famiglia Oskierki, che svolgeva funzioni importanti nella provincia di Mozyrz⁶⁶. Anche se per il secolo XVIII ciò era già un modello un po' arcaico, tuttavia ancora presente nella Polessia di quel periodo. Esso consisteva nel fatto che i protopresbiteri, prima di insediarsi nel loro futuro protopresbiterato, dovevano versare una notevole somma e ricevere dal collatore l'appoggio alla nomina, e solo allora la loro candidatura poteva essere presa in considerazione dal vescovo⁶⁷.

Tali pratiche avevano i loro connotati storici. Per la prima volta sono riflessi nelle fonti all'inizio del XVI sec., in occasione del conflitto dell'allora vescovo di Turów e Pińsk Wassian coi proprietari di Pińsk, i principi Iwan Jarosławowicz e suo figlio Fedor Iwanowicz Jarosławowicz. Entrambi gli Jarosławowicz, un tempo grandi protettori della Chiesa ortodossa, cominciarono ad arrogarsi prerogative episcopali, mirando ad assoggettare a sé sotto tutti gli aspetti la vita ecclesiastica nei loro possedimenti, compresa la costruzione dei nuovi templi e la nomina di sacerdoti in essi senza che il gerarca fosse d'accordo o senza addirittura che lo sapesse. Reagendo alla querela, il gran principe di Lituania Alessandro Jagellone proibì simili pratiche ed assoggettò tutta la sfera dell'attività ecclesiastica al vescovo

⁶⁶ Erano le parrocchie: Skryhołów (HГАБ, ф. 136, оп. 1, n. 41240, cc. 35v-38, 233r-237r), Waszkowszczyzna (ibidem, cc. 53v-54v, 203v), Biesiadki (ibidem, cc. 38r-39v), Michnowicze (ibidem, c. 35v), Kościukowicze (ibidem, cc. 39v-40v, 195v-197v), Boryskowicze (ibidem, cc. 41-42v, 204-205v), Strzelsk (ibidem, cc. 45-46v, 207v-208v), Babicze (ibidem, cc. 46v-47v), Jelsk-Karolin (ibidem, cc. 49-49v, 224v-226r), Meleszkiewiczze (ibidem, cc. 52-53v), Romanówka (ibidem, c. 232v), Barbarowo (ibidem, cc. 210v-212v), Narowla (ibidem, cc. 118-119v), Cieszków (ibidem, cc. 215v-217v), Antonów (ibidem, cc. 220v-222v), Demidowicze (ibidem, cc. 222v-224v), Makanowicze, (ibidem, cc. 101r-103v, 167v-169v), Starczyce (ibidem, cc. 103-105.), Oleksicze (ibidem, cc. 105-106v, 171v), Borysowicze (ibidem, cc. 108v-109), Berczowska (ibidem, cc. 120-121v, 176-178), Ciszkowo (ibidem, cc. 111-113, 173v), Muchojady (ibidem, cc. 113v-115), Kalenkiewiczze (ibidem, cc. 125v-127v, 182r), Horbowicze (ibidem, cc. 128v-131, 190v), Bahrynawicze (ibidem, cc. 193-195).

⁶⁷ Ф. И. Титов, *Русская православная церковь в Польско-Литовском государстве в XVII-XVIII вв.*, т. 3, Киев 1916, p. 145.

Wassian. Il privilegio che ottenne il vescovo Wassian fu confermato dalle cancellerie reali fino al regno di Augusto III⁶⁸, tuttavia non bisogna pensare che i proprietari terrieri laici avessero rinunciato ai diritti e agli usi in vigore fino a quel momento.

* * *

I dati della tabella II mostrano che propria la diocesi di Turów e Pińsk doveva avere la rete parrocchiale più efficiente, giacché in essa ogni decanato aveva 19 parrocchie, mentre, p. es., in quella di Przemyśl ogni decanato ne contava 40. Un minor numero di parrocchie nel decanato certamente rende più efficace il controllo sulle singole parrocchie. Si deve ritenere che nella diocesi in questione esistesse un grande divario nel numero di parrocchie fra i singoli decanati, p. es., in quello di Lubieszew (per il quale disponiamo di dati più completi) abbiamo solo 11 parrocchie, in quello di Mozyrz le parrocchie sono 47. Questo divario scaturiva, come si può immaginare, dalle strutture della proprietà amministrativo-economica che esistevano in tutte le diocesi⁶⁹.

⁶⁸ Il privilegio per Wassian ci è noto da un documento emanato per quello che sarebbe diventato vescovo di Turów e Pińsk Jona da Sigismondo il Vecchio nel 1522, cfr. *Акты, относящиеся к истории Западной России, собранные и изданные Археографическою комиссиею*, т. 1: 1340-1506, Санкт-Петербург 1846, n. 109, pp. 134-135. Un documento dei tempi di Augusto III, che conferma privilegi precedenti emanati da Sigismondo il Vecchio a Grodno il 9 febbraio 1522, Ladislao IV l'11 marzo 1633 e Giovanni III Sobieski il 28 marzo 1695 si trova nella Biblioteca dell'Università di Vilna, Reparto Manoscritti, F 48-32732, cc. 116-116v. ("il vescovo Jonasz e lo disse prima di noi il nostro fratello di beata memoria Alessandro Re di Polonia nel Granducato di Lituani ha giudicato il predecessore [...] vescovo di Pińsk e Turów Wasjan col Principe Jan Jarosławicz e Teodor Iwanowicz Jarosławicz, che essi iniziarono a recare a Lui torto e ad introdurre nuove cose, a fondare e costruire Chiese di rito orientale senza il Suo permesso e la Sua benedizione in Città e Villaggi nostri, anche a stabilire in quelle chiese sacerdoti e a governarli, sottraendoli all'obbedienza e al potere Suo").

⁶⁹ Come ha osservato L. Bieńkowski (*Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego...*, p. 920), "un fattore decisivo per la grandezza del decanato, era, parlando in generale, il numero di parrocchie, e non la loro diffusione sul territorio".

Tab. II: Numero e superficie dei decanati nella diocesi di Turów e Pińsk attorno al 1772 in confronto con le altre diocesi uniati⁷⁰

Diocesi	Numero di decanati	Superficie media del decanato (in migliaia di km ²)	Numero medio di parrocchie in 1 decanato
metropolitana	55	4,8	45
di Połock	27	3,0	22
di Leopoli	71	0,7	35
di Łuck	45	0,8	27
di Włodzimierz	18	1,6	29
di Przemyśl	31	0,8	40
di Chełm	22	1,0	24
di Turów e Pińsk	13	1,8	19

4. La rete parrocchiale nei secc. XVII-XVIII

La definizione della rete parrocchiale dal punto di vista numerico per i secc. XVII e XVIII è un compito molto difficile, soprattutto per la mancanza di fonti contenenti dati esatti in numeri assoluti per il XVII sec. Per la seconda metà del XVIII disponiamo unicamente dei dati generali inviati dai vescovi uniati al nunzio G. Garampi⁷¹, tuttavia un altro problema per gli studiosi è la compresenza nelle stesse terre di due Chiese di rito orientale: quella uniata e quella ortodossa⁷², il che comportava che non di rado in una stessa località si trovassero due parrocchie di diverse confessioni.

⁷⁰ Per la diocesi di Turów e Pińsk i dati sono stati stabiliti sulla base delle nostre ricerche autonome sugli anni ottanta del XVIII sec., per le altre diocesi i dati del periodo attorno al 1772 sono citati secondo: W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku*, p. 35.

⁷¹ Queste fonti costituiscono una risposta al questionario inviato dall'arcivescovo Garampi (v. oltre). Le risposte furono inviate alla Nunziatura di Varsavia dai vescovi: di Chełm (ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 137, cc. 46r-54v, 71rv), di Łuck (ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 140, cc. 169r-170v, 173r-174v), di Pińsk (ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 140, c. 431rv), di Połock (ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 141, cc. 2r-4v), di Przemyśl (cc. 422r-423v), di Włodzimierz (ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 143, cc. 281r-288v) e i vicari generali del metropolita del Gran Principato di Lituania (ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 139, cc. 287r-290v) e in Ucraina (ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 32, cc. 54r-58v, 62r-70v).

⁷² Si verificavano anche casi in cui, se coesistevano entrambe le confessioni, la chiesa restava sotto il patronato del fondatore, che per i fedeli uniati faceva costruire una nuova chie-

Crea difficoltà anche il fatto che le fonti provengono da periodi diversi, infatti le relazioni di visite pastorali accessibili non furono redatte in un unico momento (e per alcuni decanati — quello di Nobel e quello di Bezdzież — non possediamo affatto queste relazioni), e nel frattempo le parrocchie potevano cambiare il decanato o la confessione di appartenenza. Nei secc. XVII e XVIII ebbe luogo anche, come già sappiamo, uno sviluppo della rete parrocchiale, con intensità diversa e con fallimenti diversi nel corso del tempo e nelle diverse regioni della diocesi.

Tutto ciò impedisce allo studioso moderno di fotografare tutta la diocesi (con la suddivisione in decanati e parrocchie) in un unico momento, pertanto le analisi condotte nei paragrafi seguenti, benché svolte con la massima accuratezza possibile, non esauriranno il tema.

a) Fattori che favorivano il sorgere di nuove chiese

È opportuno premettere all'analisi del numero delle parrocchie nell'eparchia in questione una riflessione sui fattori che favorivano la nascita di nuove parrocchie o che, al contrario, frenavano questo processo.

Secondo le conclusioni del prof. Jerzy Urwanowicz nel XVIII secolo crebbe l'intensità della costruzione di nuovi templi: in tutta la *Respubblica* delle Due Nazioni all'epoca sorsero ca. 800 templi cristiani, dei quali 500 (62%) erano chiese latine, 243 chiese uniati (30%), e 42 (5%) chiese ortodosse. Nel Gran Principato di Lituania in questo secolo era visibile la prevalenza di chiese uniati nuove o ristrutturate su quelle ortodosse, il che — secondo J. Urwanowicz — dimostra "la crescente cattolicizzazione del Cristianesimo nel Gran Principato di Lituania, soprattutto nel rito romano, in grado minore in quello greco"⁷³.

Non di rado le chiese erano fatte erigere da proprietari terrieri romano-cattolici, che le fondavano in risposta ad una richiesta dei fedeli. In questa decisione aveva un certo ruolo anche il fattore finanziario, perché la costruzione di una chiesa di rito orientale era più economica di quella di una chiesa per il rito romano⁷⁴.

Era una pratica frequente anche la fondazione di una parrocchia da parte del parroco di un'altra. In questo modo fu fondata, per esempio, la parrocchia di Hrabowo, dedicata all'Ascensione del Signore, per la quale

sa. Accadeva anche il contrario. Si vedano numerosi esempi in: L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego...*, pp. 928-929.

⁷³ J. Urwanowicz, *Profanum i sacrum. Próba analizy XVIII-wiecznych fundacji sakralnych z terenów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, in: *W kręgu sacrum i pogranicza*, red. E. Matuszczyk, M. Krzywosz, Białystok 2004, pp. 236-237.

⁷⁴ L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego...*, p. 929.

il diritto di nomina del clero spettava al parroco di Petryków, p. Eliaż Borodzie, protonotario apostolico e vicario generale della diocesi di Turów e Pińsk, che era finanziata dal canonico di Smoleńsk⁷⁵ Tomasz Jeleński. Da ciò derivava il diritto del parroco di Petryków di nominare lì il sacerdote⁷⁶.

Oltre ai fattori che favorivano la nascita di parrocchie, L. Bieńkowski nota anche delle circostanze che frenavano questi processi, legate soprattutto alla sparizione dell'“elemento di interesse materiali dei signori feudali, a fronte di una graduale eliminazione delle pratiche simoniache di vendita della presentazione delle candidature alla carica di vescovo o di riscossione di canoni e tributi dai parroci”⁷⁷. Con l'abolizione della pratiche citate venne meno la motivazione che spingeva i signori feudali ad intraprendere fondazioni.

La scarsa propensione dei potenti causata dal fattore finanziario era inoltre potenziata dal notevole affievolimento del fattore religioso sull'onda del pensiero illuminista del XVIII secolo, che manteneva un atteggiamento tiepido sulle questioni di fede. Non era priva di importanza anche la sicurezza di sé della classe magnatizia, la cui posizione, come scrive J. Urwanowicz, “per i primi due terzi del XVIII secolo raggiunse il suo acme. Questo gruppo sociale non doveva più dimostrare niente. La comparsa di nuove possibilità di investire con profitto i mezzi posseduti, p. es. nelle manifatture o nelle compagnie mercantili, fece sì che i magnati provassero [...] ad investire i loro soldi proprio in quel modo, anziché in ‘investimenti senza profitto’, come le fondazioni religiose”⁷⁸.

I fattori menzionati fecero sì che nel XVIII sec. oltre la metà delle fondazioni sacre fosse attuata per iniziativa della nobiltà, il che contraddice l'ipotesi che fossero le fondazioni magnatizie a dominare⁷⁹. Ciò è tanto più degno di nota se si considera che nel periodo considerato la nobiltà era un ceto che si andava impoverendo: le fonti menzionano casi in cui il diritto di conferire le cariche relative alla chiesa era restituito al vescovo, poiché la nobiltà non era più in grado di mantenere il tempio⁸⁰.

⁷⁵ Oggi Smolensk, in Russia.

⁷⁶ HГАБ, ф. 136, оп. 1, n. 41240, с. 247v.

⁷⁷ L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego...*, p. 929.

⁷⁸ J. Urwanowicz, *Profanum i sacrum...*, pp. 238-239.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 238. Dopo i magnati in questi calcoli venivano la comunità parrocchiale e la monarchia.

⁸⁰ Alla metà del XVIII secolo aderiscono all'Unione nuove chiese. Si è conservato p.es. un atto del 1760 con cui la nobiltà trasferisce la chiesa nel villaggio di Wylazy nella provincia di Pińsk al vescovo Jerzy Bułhak. “Questa chiesa prima si trovava nelle mani dei disuniti (gli ortodossi), da ora è unita alla santa Unione, e noi stessi, sotto l'azione dello Spirito Santo, siamo diventati uniati”. *Археологический сборник документов, относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа*, т. 6, Вильна 1869, p. 329.

b) Le parrocchie nel XVII sec.

Oggi non possediamo molti materiali che consentano di illustrare l'immagine ancorché approssimativa delle singole eparchie a metà del XVII sec. I dati presentati oltre provengono da sole tre fonti, basate probabilmente non su accurati elenchi parrocchiali, ma su informazioni generali indirette, assolutamente imprecise, come parrebbero dimostrare le cifre notevolmente arrotondate (cfr. tab. III).

La prima delle fonti citate è la *Relatio* del 1647⁸¹, un documento anonimo redatto per la diocesi di Turów e Pińsk ancora prima dell'insurrezione di Chmielnicki e le distruzioni compiute dai cosacchi. In essa troviamo l'informazione dell'esistenza di 400 parrocchie ortodosse e 100 uniati, amministrate dal vescovo Pachomiusz Woyna Orański, che sembrava occuparsi più delle battute di caccia che degli affari della Chiesa⁸². La *Relatio* non riporta però il numero esatto delle parrocchie, probabilmente lo esagera di molto⁸³.

Un'altra fonte del XVII secolo, ma un po' più tarda⁸⁴, è la relazione di Jakub Susza, vescovo di Chełm negli anni 1652-1687, intitolata *Amplissima relatio Ep[iscopu] Jac[obo] Susza de laboribus Unitorum et progressu Unionis, post Synodum Brestensem (1596) et tempore belli Cosacici*⁸⁵. Quest'opera, scritta durante la permanenza di Susza a Roma negli anni 1664-1666, contiene informazioni riguardanti l'Unione, vi si può trovare, fra l'altro, il numero delle parrocchie nelle singole diocesi. In questa relazione del vescovo di Chełm la quantità minore di informazioni è proprio quella che riguarda la diocesi di Turów e Pińsk. L'autore ricorda solo che dopo le rivolte cosacche qui c'erano 100 parrocchie, molto diminuite in seguito agli

⁸¹ Archivio Storico per l'Evangelizzazione nei Popoli, Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, Roma, Scritture Originali Riferite nelle Congressi Generale, vol. 338, cc. 471-479. Il documento è pubblicato in: *Litterae basilianorum*, vol. I, n. 29, pp. 51-61 (integralmente), pp. 57-59 (descrizione delle diocesi). Come autore è indicato "Pater Philippo Rutheno".

⁸² *Litterae basilianorum in terris Ucrainae et Bielarussiae*, paravit, adnotavit editionemque curavit P. A. G. Welykyj OSBM, vol. I, 1601-1730, Romae 1979, n. 29, pp. 57-59.

⁸³ Si veda: L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego...*, pp. 926-927; J. Praszko, *De Ecclesia Ruthena Catholica sede metropolitana vacante 1655-1665*, Romae 1944, pp. 11-14.

⁸⁴ Non comprendiamo qui la fonte del metropolita J. Rutki, che nel 1624 indicò il numero di 8000 parrocchie nelle "diocesi dei vescovi ruteni soggette al re polacco". Aggiunse anche che nella Rus' c'erano tanti fedeli di rito ruteno quanti ve n'erano in tutto il Regno di Polonia di rito latino. *Epistolae metropolitae Kiioviensium catholicorum*, vol. I, p. 113.

⁸⁵ Archivio Storico per l'Evangelizzazione nei Popoli, Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, Roma, Scritture Originali Riferite nelli Congressi Generali, Fondo Vienna, vol. 17, fol. 87-111; ASV, Fondo Garampi, vol. 20A; ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, Additamenta: Memoriali, biglietti e carte diversae, 1656-1699. L'intera relazione è stampata in: *Litterae episcoporum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1600-1900)*, paravit, adnotavit editionemque curavit P. A. G. Welykyj OSBM, vol. II, 1641-1664, Romae 1973, n. 181, pp. 296-335.

attacchi dei cosacchi, che avrebbero causato enormi devastazioni in queste terre⁸⁶ (il brano fu scritto dopo un periodo difficile per la *Respublica*, quando i cosacchi fecero giungere ad una situazione in cui la popolazione lasciava la Chiesa uniate per quella ortodossa):

Ep.patus Pinscensis amplitudo. Ep.patus Pinscens., usque ad tempora Cosatica, nullibi nisi in civitate Pinscen. Habuit Schismaticos, et sicubi schismatici vel haeretici Nobiles in bonis suis Eos aluerunt. Extenditur ad 40 milliaria in longum et latum, nunc parochos ad 100 habet, continuis Cosacorum Schismaticorumque incursionibus depopulationibusque magna ex parte labefactus⁸⁷.

Queste osservazioni del vescovo del XVII secolo sono confermate da D. Liseuczykau, le cui ricerche dimostrano che il processo di diffusione dell'Unione fu bruscamente arrestato dalla costante presenza dei reparti cosacchi⁸⁸. Verso la fine del XVI sec. e nella prima metà del XVII solo singole chiese ortodosse nella regione di Turów divennero uniati.

I dati presentati nell'opera di J. Susza⁸⁹ furono arrotondati e in molti casi lasciano perplessi gli storici⁹⁰, tuttavia l'opera in sé è da ritenere preziosa dal punto di vista storico, soprattutto per la descrizione dello stato della Chiesa uniate nel 1664 vista dalla prospettiva di un personaggio che partecipava agli eventi. Inoltre, scrivendo la sua relazione, Susza si basava su materiali romani, il che accresce notevolmente il valore del suo lavoro⁹¹.

⁸⁶ "I cosacchi hanno imperversato nella Provincia di Pińsk e hanno ammazzato crudelmente la Nobiltà, e a quel tempo hanno bruciato anche le Chiese di rito orientale e latino", ИРІ РАН, колекция П. Н. Доброхотова (к. 52), 11.4.19, с. 1.

⁸⁷ "Ampiezza della diocesi di Pińsk. La diocesi di Pińsk, fino ai tempi dei cosacchi, non ha avuto scismatici se non nella città di Pińsk, e là i nobili scismatici o eretici li hanno alimentati nei loro possedimenti. Si estende per 40 miglia di lunghezza e larghezza, ora ha parroci fino ad un numero di 100, è stata funestata in gran parte dalle incursioni e devastazioni continue dei cosacchi e degli scismatici". Archivio Storico per l'Evangelizzazione nei Popoli, Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, Roma, Scritture Originali Riferite nei Congressi Generali, Fondo Vienna, vol. 17, fol. 87r-111v; ASV, Fondo Garampi, vol. 20A; ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia, Additamenta: Memoriali, biglietti e carte diversae, 1656-1699. L'intera relazione è stata pubblicata in: *Litterae episcoporum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1600-1900)*, paravit, adnotavit editionemque curavit P. A. G. Welykyj OSBM, vol. II, 1641-1664, Romae 1973, n. 181, pp. 298-299.

⁸⁸ Д. Лісейчыкаў, Фарміраванне сеткі уніяцкіх парафіі..., pp. 88-89.

⁸⁹ J. Susza, *De laboribus unitorum, promotione, propagatione, et protectione Divina Unionis ab initio eius usque ad haec tempora*, in: *Litterae episcoporum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1600-1900)*, paravit, adnotavit editionemque curavit P. A. G. Welykyj OSBM, vol. II, 1641-1664, Romae 1973, n. 181, pp. 296-335.

⁹⁰ A. Mironowicz, *Prawosławie i unia...*, pp. 221-223; A. Gil, *Chełmska diecezja...*, pp. 19-20.

⁹¹ С. Н. Плохий, Від Якова Суші до Атанасія Великого (Огляд видань римськихджерел з історії української церкви), Український археографічний щорічник, Нова серія, т. 5, Вип.2, Київ

Tab. III: Numero di parrocchie
nelle singole diocesi attorno alla metà del XVII sec.

Diocesi	Numero di parrocchie	
	Secondo la <i>Relatio</i> 1647	Secondo J. Susza 1664
metropolitana	2000	600
di Połock	2200	1000
di Smoleńsk	ca. 800	600
di Chełm	900	700
Di Włodzimierz	1000	1000
di Przemyśl	4000	3000
di Leopoli	1000	1000
di Turów e Pińsk	Fino a 500	100

L'ultimo documento che dà una certa immagine delle singole diocesi a metà del XVII sec. è la relazione del protopresbitero Piotr Kurciłowicz, che fu scritta su incarico del vescovo Marcin Białłozór nella seconda metà del XVII sec. Da essa emerge che della diocesi uniata di Turów e Pińsk facevano parte circa 100 parrocchie dei territori della provincia di Pińsk, Mozyrz e della parte meridionale della provincia di Nowogródek. Nella relazione è citato anche il numero di ecclesiastici uniati: 40 ecclesiastici uniati nelle chiese nelle terre statali e 46 in terre di proprietà privata⁹². Oltre a ciò, presso le famiglie degli ecclesiastici si trovavano in aggiunta 74 persone di ambo i sessi. Presso alcune grandi chiese potevano essere attivi contemporaneamente due ecclesiastici, e si stima che nel 1674 nella diocesi qui studiata si trovassero 80 chiese parrocchiali. Questa relazione non trova conferma in altre fonti, perciò occorre considerarla con cautela.

c) Le parrocchie nel XVIII sec.

La definizione della rete parrocchiale nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo e dei cambiamenti avvenuti in essa è possibile innanzi tutto grazie alle visite apostoliche degli anni 1777-1778 e 1787, che costituiscono il complesso di fonti più attendibile, anche se, purtroppo, incompleto, per le

1993, pp. 6-7; idem, Папские послания как источник по истории католической экспансии на Украине в XVI-XVII вв., serie: Историографические и источниковедческие проблемы отечественной истории, Днепропетровск 1985; idem, Папство и Украина: Политика римской курии на украинских землях в XVI-XVIII вв., Киев 1989.

⁹² Археографический сборник документов..., т. 6, р. 354.

nostre ricerche. Altre importanti fonti accessibili possono essere classificate come resoconti, elenchi redatti per fini statistici. Uno di essi è quello già ricordato all'inizio del capitolo, il documento intitolato *Responsio ad questia Ill[ustrissi]mi Exc[el]ll[issi]mi ac Rev[erendissi]mi D[omi]ni Nuncii Apostolici in Regno Poloniarum et magno Ducatu Litt[uaniae] prius diligenter rebus omnibus examinatis per me Gedeonem Horbacki Ep[iscopu]m Pinscensem et Turoviensem*⁹³ del 26 febbraio 1773, la risposta di Gedeon Horbacki, vescovo di Pińsk e Turów negli anni 1769-1784⁹⁴, all'arcivescovo Giuseppe Garampi, che aveva chiesto a tutti i vescovi uniati di rappresentare lo stato delle diocesi da loro amministrate⁹⁵.

I risultati qui presentati dello studio della struttura della diocesi uniate di Turów e Pińsk mettono in luce l'assenza fino ad ora di ricerche sull'Unione con un approccio che tenga conto di tutti gli aspetti delle fonti. Abbiamo dimostrato che la struttura di questa diocesi è stata piuttosto instabile e che la sua estensione era notevolmente maggiore di quanto non risultasse dalle analisi degli altri studiosi.

Ciò costituisce un buon esempio di come le fonti riguardanti l'Unione aspettino ancora di essere scoperte e di quanto lontani siamo da un'adeguata descrizione dell'Unione nella storia della Chiesa in Europa.

SUMMARY

The author of the present article first of all wished to correct certain inaccuracies found in historiographical literature dealing with the external geographical boundaries of the Uniate eparchy of Turov and Pinsk as well as its internal structure. His primary aim was to determine the eparchy's extension throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Following this plan, he estimated its geographical surface area to cover 35.000 square kilometres midway through the eighteenth century. He proceeded to present an analysis of the sources: reports of episcopal visitations and other accounts left during the eighteenth century. With this in mind, the author reconstructed the probable division of the eparchy into deaneries, of which there seem to have been fourteen during the second half of the eighteenth century. It would eventually be necessary to determine how many parishes existed at the time and their locations. But for the seventeenth century, the author had to rely only on rather unreliable documents which furnished only very approximate statistics. For the eighteenth century, the author, on the other hand, was able to reconstruct almost the entire parochial network of the eparchy.

⁹³ ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 140, cc. 431r-431v.

⁹⁴ Negli anni 1766-1769 coadiutore.

⁹⁵ Il Nunzio agiva conformemente alle raccomandazioni della Segreteria di Stato della Santa Sede del 1771, in cui si chiedevano dati riguardanti gli uniati e gli ortodossi. ASV, Segreteria di Stato: Polonia, vol. 285, c. 124v. Il nunzio ha prodotto una fonte preziosa per la storia della Chiesa orientale della seconda metà del XVIII sec., chiamata *Tavole di Garampi*, in cui egli aveva inserito informazioni anche sugli ortodossi e gli uniati. ASV, Segreteria di Stato: Polonia, vol. 285, c. 124v. ASV, Archivi delle Rappresentanze Pontificie: Varsavia, vol. 110, cc. 2r-22v.

In 1772, the eparchy possessed about 238 parishes. The author, in writing this section, based his account on actual statistics of the time in question, estimating the number of deaneries, parishes and clergy. He also employed maps of the period, as well as parish directories.

The eparchy's parochial network, however, faced many problems: conflicts over Eastern Orthodox estates, the negative view which the Polish government often took of the Union with Rome, the Cossack wars, as well as the extirpative struggles with Sweden, and Russia. Uniate bishops were especially affected since their eparchies covered territories where political wisdom favoured Orthodoxy. Cossack influence was strong and Cossack troops often ravaged sections of the eparchy.

The seventeenth century is of particular interest for the study of the Uniate Church and for the entire region. Sigismund III Vasa, sat on the Polish throne, a ruler known to be exceptionally predisposed to the expansion of the Uniate Church. But the same cannot be said about Władysław IV, Sigismund's successor, who in his domestic politics, accommodated the Orthodox. This situation was further complicated by several wars with neighbouring countries — a historical circumstance, which exacerbated confessional tensions within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In spite of such exasperating conditions, it is remarkable that the Union was able to subsist at all. Sources allow us, once again, to trace the development of the parochial structure of the eparchy. According to Jakub Susza, Bishop of Chełm, 100 parishes existed during the sixties of the seventeenth century. Although this data should be treated with prudence, it shows a disproportionate number of parishes when compared with those of other Uniate dioceses. In fact, this number demonstrates that the eparchy of Turov and Pinsk was the most exiguous of the Uniate dioceses.

The third decade of the eighteenth century, however, privileged the growth of the Union. After the devastating wars of the seventeenth century and the Great Northern War, Uniate structures began once again to expand. Documents from the early eighteenth century already mention the 250 parishes and 14 deaneries (of course compared to other eparchies, the diocese of Turov and Pinsk still had the least number of parishes and deaneries). The eparchy occupied the fifth place, after the Metropolia (222 thousand km²), and the eparchies of Połock (82.1 thousand km²), L'vov (47.1 thousand km²), and Lutsk (35.3 thousand km²). The eparchies of Vladimir (28.1 thousand km²), Przemyśl (24.9 thousand km²), and Chełm (22.1 thousand km²) were, on the other hand, considered only minor eparchies.

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*There Were They In Great Fear, Where No Fear Was.*¹
The Theological Dialogue between the Nonjuror
Anglicans and the Eastern Church (1716-1725)

[...] we find them differing from the Papists in the articles of Purgatory by fire, Communion in both kinds and the Pope's Universal Supremacy, in all which they appear on the protestant side; but then, in the points of praying to Saints and Angels, and worshipping of Images, by the new and insipid distinction of Dulia and Latria, and in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, with its consequent Adoration of the host, all of which the Protestants disclaim, these Greeks are as high-flown and obstinate, as the most violent Papist in the whole Church of Rome: Besides sundry other peculiarities of less importance, in which they stand single and unrelated to any European denomination whatever. (John Skinner, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. II, London, 1788, 639).

In 1553, the English explorer Richard Chancellor, sailing on board *Edward Bonaventure*, dropped anchor in the harbor of Arkhangelsk, and was invited by the Russian Czar Ivan IV (1547-1584) to visit Moscow in order to discuss the first trade agreement between the two states. This enabled Chancellor to give a firsthand account of the life of Moscow dwellers, which he described in a few notable pages. Moreover, he concerned himself with the Russian people's religion which he recounted in these terms:

They doe observe the lawe of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They have no graven images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they use such idolatrie that the like was never heard of in England. [...] They say we be but halfe Christians: because we observe not part of the olde law with the Turks. Therefore they call themselves more holy then us. [...] All their service in Churches is in their mother tongue. They have the olde and newe Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they have such tricks in their reading, that no man can understand them, nor no man giveth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at service no man sitteth, but gagle and ducky like so many Geese. And as for their prayers they have but little skill, but use to say

¹ Ps 53:5.

As bodi pomele: As much to say, Lord have mercy upon me. For the tenth man within the land cannot say the Pater noster. And as for the Creede, no man may be so bolde as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it shoulde not bee spoken of, but in the Churches.²

Almost two centuries later, on September 6, 1725, the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, addressed a letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos Notaras, residing in Constantinople, to describe the actual canonical position of the Nonjurors in relation to the Church of England. The statement concluding the letter is extremely relevant of the closeness of the two Churches:

In the meanwhile we, the true bishops and clergy of the English Church, who confess the same faith as you in all the articles of major importance, shall not cease to maintain communion with you at least in spirit and sentiment (if otherwise not possible, since we are so far from you) and pray for your welfare and peace.³

The change occurred in the perception of Eastern Christianity, from its association with *superstition* and *idolatry* by a 16th century lay Englishman (R. Chancellor), to the subsequent amends reflected in the statement "we confess the same faith as you in all the articles of major importance," put forth by an Anglican bishop (W. Wake) in early 18th century, indicates enhanced efforts for better mutual knowledge of both Canterbury and Constantinople in the 17th century. A major contribution was made by the Anglican theologians Lancelot Andrewes, Thomas Ken, William Laud, Jeremy Taylor and Herbert Thorndike, collectively known as the *Caroline Divines*, because they had been active under the reigns of Charles I (Lat.: *Carolus*, 1625-1649) and Charles II (1649-1685). They defined Anglicanism as the *via media* between the Roman-Catholic and the Protestant theology, thus countering the Calvinist influence exerted upon the English society; moreover, their constant reference to the Holy Scripture, interpreted in the perspective of Tradition, placed the Orthodox Church in a positive light.

² Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or Overland to the Remote & Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 Yeares*, vol. I, London / New York: J.M. Dent & Co. / E.P. Dutton & Co., 1907, 264.

³ *Collectio Conciliorum recentiorum Ecclesiae Universae*, curantibus Joanne Baptista Martin et R.P. Ludovico Petit, tomus primus (1720-1735) [sive *Amplissimae Collectionis Conciliorum* a Mansi et Continuatoribus editae, tomus XXXVII], Parisiis: Huberti Welter, 1905 (= Mansi XXXVII), 593: "nos interim ecclesiae Anglicanae veri episcopi ac clerus, uti in omnibus maioris momenti articulis eandem vobiscum fidem profiteamur, ita eodem spiritu atque affectu (quoniam aliter, tam longe a vobis dissiti non possumus) communicare non desistemus; omniaque vobis felicia, ac pacata precari."

Therefore the violence with which certain teachings and practices shared by Orthodoxy and the Roman Church were attacked and labelled, abated considerably.

Another major step towards mutual knowledge and closeness of Anglicans and Orthodox was the setting up at Moscow (1555) and Constantinople (1581) of two British trading companies (the *Muscovy / Russian Company* and the *Turkey / Levant Company*, respectively). Thus, in addition to the intermittent diplomatic contacts with Russia (until early 18th century) and the standing embassy at the *Sublime Porte*, as well as the consulates of Smyrna, Aleppo and Alexandria, the two trading companies established in the second half of the 16th century also played a role in strengthening the relations with the Orthodox Church. Both the diplomatic, and the economic missions were served by an Anglican chaplain, which naturally allowed a much more competent theological perception of the Orthodox doctrine and practices, which were reported to Canterbury.⁴ In the second half of the 17th century, the chaplains of the British embassy at Constantinople, Thomas Smith (1668-1670)⁵ and John Covel (1670-1677),⁶ and the Consul

⁴ Regarding the activity of the British chaplains of *Levant Company*, see: John B. Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company, maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna, 1611-1706*, Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1883; Mordecai Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company*, London / New York: G. Routledge & Sons Limited / E.P. Dutton & Co., 1908 [new edition entitled: *The English Levant Company: Its Foundation and Its History to 1640*, New York: B. Franklin, 1968]; Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, [London]: Oxford University Press, 1935 [republished without alterations: London: Frank Cass and Co., 1964].

⁵ See: Thomas Smith, *De Graecae Ecclesiae hodierno statu epistola*, Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1676 [second edition enlarged, annotated and revised, published in: Londini: Vaeneunt apud Mosem Pitt & Samuelem Carr, 1678; another edition published in: Trajecti ad Rhenum: apud Franciscum Halman acad. Typogr., 1698; this latter edition was translated into English and published: Thomas Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church as to Its Doctrine and Rites of Worship with Several Historicall Remarks interspersed, relating there unto, to which is added an Account of the State of the Greek Church under Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, with a Relation of His Sufferings and Death*, London: printed by Miles Flesher for Richard Davis, 1680]; Thoma Smitho, *Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario, patriarcha Constantinopolitano: quorum syllabum aversa pagina exhibet. Quibus accessere De veteris Graecae Ecclesiae hymnis Commentationes duae, et theologica de causis remediisque dissidiorum, quae Orbem Christianum hodiè affligunt, Exercitatio*, Londini: typis Gul. Bowyer & Impensis Galfridi Wale, ad insigne Angeli in Coemeterio D. Pauli, 1707; Charles Miller, "Educating the English: Dr Thomas Smith and the Study of Orthodoxy in the Seventeenth Century," in: Peter M. Doll (ed.), *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years after the Greek College in Oxford*, Oxford / Bern / Berlin / Bruxelles / Frankfurt am Main / New York / Wien: Peter Lang, 2006, 113-132; Hélène Pignot, *Christians under the Ottoman Turks: French and English Travellers in Greece and Anatolia (1615-1694)*, coll. *Gorgias Ottoman Travellers 2*, Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009, 199-276.

⁶ See mainly: John Covel, *Some Account of the Present Greek Church, with Reflections on Their Present Doctrine and Discipline, particularly in the Eucharist and the Rest of Their Seven*

of Smyrna, Sir Paul Ricaut (Rycaut, 1667-1678),⁷ described to the British society various aspects of the situation of the Orthodox Church subordinated to the *Porte*.

The British openness to the East was soon reflected in the personal relationships between the hierarchs of the two Churches. Thus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Kyrillos III Loukaris (1601-1620; later patriarch of Constantinople, 1620-1638), maintained extensive correspondence with the archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot (1611-1633).⁸ Following this let-

pretended Sacraments, compared with Jac. Goar's Notes upon the Greek Ritual or Εὐχολόγιον, Cambridge: printed for Cornelius Crownfield, 1722; Ephrem Lash, "Incoherent Pageantry or Sincere Devotion: Dr John Covell (1638-1722) on the Liturgy in Constantinople," in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 133-152. Although it was not published during his lifetime, John Covell's diary of 1670-1679 may be consulted at Cambridge by those interested in the topic: *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, I. *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600*, II. *Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covell, 1670-1679, with Some Account of the Levant Company of Turkey Merchants*, edited, with an Introduction and Notes by J. Theodore Bent, coll. *The Hakluyt Society*, 1st Series, No. 87, New York: Burt Franklin, 1893; *Dr. John Covell, Voyages en Turquie, 1675-1677*, texte anglais établi, annoté et traduit par Jean-Pierre Grégois, avec une préface de Cyril Mango, coll. *Réalités Byzantines* 6, Paris: Éditions P. Lethielleux, 1998. Moreover, in January 1672, in the context of the Eucharistic controversy in the West, between the Calvinist Jean Claude and the representative of the Catholic school of Port-Royal, Antoine Arnauld, the same Dr. Covell managed to obtain from the Patriarch of Constantinople, Dionysios IV, a synodical document presenting the Orthodox confession of faith concerning the real presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist: *A Synodical Answer to the Question: What are the Sentiments of the Oriental Church of the Grecian Orthodox, sent to the Lovers of the Greek Church in Britain in the Year of Our Lord 1672*, which was published in Greek, alongside a Latin translation, at Paris in 1676 (reprinted in 1678), together with *The Shield of the True Faith* (Ἀσπίς Ὁρθοδοξίας) authored by patriarch Dositheos II Notaras of Jerusalem: *Synodus Jerosolymitana adversus Calvinistas haereticos, Orientalem Ecclesiam de Deo rebusque divinis haereticè, ut sentiunt ipsi, sentire mentientes, pro reali potissimum praesentia, anno MDCLXXII sub Patriarcha Jerosolymorum Dositheo celebrata*, interprete Domno M[ichaelis] F[ouqueret] è congregatione Sancti Mauri, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Editio Secunda ab interprete emendata, Parisiis: apud viduam Edmundi Martini, 1678, 364-395.

⁷ Apart from the books dedicated to the history of the Ottoman Empire, this British diplomat also published: Paul Ricaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678, written at the command of His Majesty [Charles II]*, London: printed for John Starkey, 1679. See also: Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678*, Oxford / New York: Clarendon Press / Oxford University Press, 1989; Patricia Ivanowsky, *Sir Paul Rycaut, diplomate et historien (1629-1700): témoignage sur l'Empire ottoman à la fin du XVII^{ème} siècle*, (thèse de doctorat), Université de Paris X Nanterre, 1994; Hélène Pignot, *Christians under the Ottoman Turks: French and English Travellers in Greece and Anatolia (1615-1694)*, coll. *Gorgias Ottoman Travellers* 2, Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009, 161-197.

⁸ See: Χρυσόστομος Α. Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἐπιστολή Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Καντερβουρίας Ἀββότ," *Νέα Σιών* 3 (1906), 1, 3-10; Τ.Π. Θέμελης, "Ἐπιστολή τοῦ Λουκάρεως πρὸς τὸν Ἀββότ," *Νέα Σιών* 8 (1909), 1-2, 30-33. For the general context of patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris' activity, see: Χρυσόστομος Α. Παπαδόπουλος, *Κύριλλος Λούκαρις, Τεργέστης: Τύποις τοῦ Αὐστρουγγρικοῦ Λόγδ*, 1907 [the second edition published in: Ἀθῆναι: Τύποις

ter exchange, the Macedonian monk Metrophanes Kritopoulos (the future patriarch of Alexandria, 1636-1639) was sent to *Balliol College* of University of Oxford, and studied there between 1617-1622.⁹

Φοίνικος, 1939]; Richard Schlier, *Der Patriarch Kyrill Lukaris von Konstantinopel: sein Leben und sein Glaubensbekenntnis*, Marburg: Bauer, 1927; R. Belmont, "Le Patriarche Cyrille Lukaris et l'Union des Églises," *Irén* 15 (1938), 4, 342-362; 15 (1938), 6, 535-553; 16 (1939), 2, 127-138; Germanos of Thyateira, *Kyrillos Loukaris, 1572-1638. A Struggle for Preponderance between Catholic and Protestant Powers in the Orthodox East*, London: SPCK, 1951; George A. Hadjiantonious, *Protestant Patriarch: the life of Cyril Lucaris, 1572-1638, Patriarch of Constantinople*, Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961; Gunnar Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik, 1620-1638*, Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1968 [Modern Greek translation: Γκούναρ Χέρινγκ, *Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και Ευρωπαϊκή Πολιτική, 1620-1638*, Μετάφραση: Δημοσθένης Κούρτοβικ, Ἀθήναι: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, 1992]; Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Church of England and the Greek Church in the Time of Charles I," in: Derek Baker (ed.), *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian (Papers read at the Sixteenth Summer Meeting and the Seventeenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society)*, coll. *Studies in Church History* 15, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978, 213-240 [republished in: Hugh Trevor-Roper, *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, 83-111]; W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997; W.B. Patterson, "Cyril Lukaris, George Abott, James VI and I, and the Beginning of Orthodox-Anglican Relations," in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 39-55.

⁹ Christophoros Angelos was the first Greek to complete his education in England, at *Trinity College* (University of Cambridge, 1608-1610) and *Balliol College* (University of Oxford). He arrived there as a student in 1610, and remained as a teacher of Greek language until the end of his life, in 1638. Unlike Metrophanes Kritopoulos, this Peloponese-born young man arrived there of his own accord, without being sent by any Church authority. See: Πόνησις Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου, Ἑλληνοὶ τοῦ πολλῶν πληγῶν καὶ Μαστίγων γευσάμενου ἀδίκως παρὰ τῶν Τουρκῶν διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστοῦ Πίστιν, Oxford: printed by John Lichfield and William Wrench, 1617 [second edition published in the English translation: *Christopher Angell, a Grecian who tasted of many Stripes inflicted by the Turkes for the Faith which he had in Jesus Christ*, Oxford: printed by John Lichfield and William Wrench, 1618]; Στέφανος Ι. Μακριμίχαλος, "Χριστοφόρος Ἀγγελος ὁ ἐλληνοδιδάσκαλος τῆς Ὁξφόρδης," *Πελοποννησιακά* 2 (1957), 219-246; "Ὁ Χριστόφορος Ἀγγελος (†1638) καὶ τὰ ἔργα του: Πόνησις, Ἐγκώμιον, Ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ Ἀποστασία, Εἰσαγωγή, σχόλια, ἐπιμέλεια, ἔκδοση Κωνσταντίνος Γαρίτσης, coll. *Γραμματεία τῆς τουρκοκρατίας (15ος-18ος αἰ.)*. Κείμενα καὶ μελέτες, τ. 2α & 2β, Θεοβίτης: Θήρα, 2008. For details on the life and activity of Metrophanes Kritopoulos, see: Μ. Ρενιέρης, *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ καὶ Γερμανίᾳ φίλοι αὐτοῦ (1617-1628)*, coll. *Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Παράρτημα Β', Ἀθήναι: Τυπογραφεῖον τῶν Ἀδελφῶν Πέρρη, 1893; Ἰωάννης Ν. Καρμίρης, *Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος καὶ ἡ ἀνέκδοτος ἀλληλογραφία αὐτοῦ*, Ἀθήναι: Τύποις Παρασκευά Λεώνη, 1937; Id., "Ἡ ὁμολογία μετὰ τῶν πρὸς Γῶδον ἀποκρίσεων τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου καὶ ἡ Δογματικὴ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ," *Θεολογία* 19 (1941-1948), 1, 53-86; 19 (1941-1948), 2, 209-238; 19 (1941-1948), 3, 398-431 [text republished in volume: Ἀθήναι: Τύποις Φοίνικος, 1948]; Colin Davey, "Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου κατὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ διαμονὴν αὐτοῦ," *Θεολογία* 41 (1970), 1, 116-136; Ioan I. Ică, "Mărturisirea de credință a lui Mitrofan Kritopulos. Însemnătatea ei istorică, dogmatică și ecumenistă (teză de doctorat)," *Mitropolia Ardealului* 18 (1973), 3-4, 208-473; Ἀνδρέας Τηλλυριδης, "Συμβολαὶ καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὴν ἀλληλογραφίαν τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου (1589-1639)," *Θεολογία* 45 (1974), 2, 360-404; Colin Davey, "Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and Relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches," *Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία / Church and Theology* 1 (1980), 212-286; 2 (1981), 545-581; 3 (1982), 141-175; 4 (1983), 375-480; 6 (1984), 303-363 [text subsequently published in volume: Colin Davey, *Pioneer for Unity: Metrophanes*

The occasional sending of Greek students to Great Britain for their academic education, throughout the 17th century, prompted the establishment of the famous *Greek College* (1699-1705), within the University of Oxford. This project, involving all four Eastern Patriarchates, as well as the *Levant Company*, was directly supported by the director of *Gloucester Hall*, Dr. Benjamin Woodroffe. Unfortunately, in the spring of 1705, for various reasons (lack of funds, immoral conduct of the Greek students in London, pressures made by the Jesuits), this institution was closed down.¹⁰

Further evidence of the good Anglican-Orthodox relationships was the building of the first worship place for the Greek Orthodox community in London (1677-1680), prompted by the archbishop of Samos and Ikaria, Joseph Georgirenes. This church, dedicated to the *Dormition of the Theotokos*, functioned as an Orthodox worship place only until 1682, when it was taken over by the Anglican community *St Martin in the Fields*, then in 1684 by the French Huguenots seeking shelter in London.¹¹

Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and Relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches, London: British Council of Churches, 1987]; Colin Davey, "Metrophanes Kritopoulos and his Studies at Balliol College from 1617-1622," in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 57-77. Later on, the same path across the Channel was taken by another protege of patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris, namely Nathaniel Konopios, who between 1637-1648, attended *Balliol College*, then was appointed as chaplain of *Christ Church*. Also the Greek priest Jeremias Germanos attended University of Oxford between 1668-1669. For details on all the Greek alumni of Oxford in the 17th century, see: Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had Their Education in the Most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford, from the Fifteenth Year of King Henry the Seventh, Dom. 1500, to the End of the Year 1690 representing the Birth, Fortune, Preferment, and Death of all those Authors and Prelates, the Great Accidents of Their Lives, and the Fate and Character of Their Writings, to which are added the Fasti, or Annals, of the said University, for the same Time*, 2 vols., London: printed for Tho. Bennet, 1691; *Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Their Parentage, Birthplace and Year of Birth, with a Record of Their Degrees: being the Matriculation Register of the University*, alphabetically arranged, revised and annotated by Joseph Foster, 2 vols., Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1968 [anastatic reprinting of the 1891 edition].

¹⁰ Although originally Woodroffe's project stipulated the annual sending of 20 Greek students selected from the all four Eastern Patriarchates, this provision was never applied. We know, however, around 15 names of Greek students who attended University of Oxford during this period, and were accomodated by the *Greek College* (*Dr. Woodroffe's Folly*). For details concerning this institution of theological education, see: [Edmund S. Ffoulkes], "Establishment of a Greek College at Oxford in the 17th Century," *The Union Review. A Magazine of Catholic Literature and Art*, I (1863), 490-500; T.Π. Θέμελης, "Τὸ ἐλληνικὸν φροντιστήριον ἐν Ὁξφόρδῃ," *Νέα Σιών* 5 (1907), 5-6, 458-461; E.D. Tappe, "The Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705," *Oxoniensia* 19 (1954), 92-112 [reprinted in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 153-174, 415-428 (appendix)]; E.D. Tappe, "Alumni of the Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705," *Notes and Queries*, 200 (March 1955), 110-114; John P. Barron, "Archbishop Joseph Georgirenes and the Prehistory of the Greek College," in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 79-112; "Appendices: Documents," in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 429-546.

¹¹ For details on the history of this Orthodox worship place in London, see: Joseph Georgirenes, *From the Archbishop of the Isle of Samos in Greece, an Account of His Building the Grecian Church in the So-hoe fields, and the Disposal thereof by the Masters of the Parish of St.*

All these contacts not only resulted in better mutual knowledge of the Anglicans and the Orthodox, but also indirectly prepared the first pattern of theological dialogue between the Nonjuror Anglicans and the Eastern Church. This topic is too little known and investigated, especially in comparison to the abundant bibliography documenting the exchange of letters between patriarch Jeremias II and the Lutheran theologians of Tübingen (1572-1581). This lack of scholarly interest might be accounted for by the special circumstances of Nonjuror Anglicans. They were a faction separated from the Church of England in 1689, as a consequence of their refusal to take the oath of allegiance to King William III and Queen Mary II (1689-1702). At the time, some members of the Anglican clergy deemed that the oath to obey the last Catholic King of England, Ireland and Scotland, James II (1685-1688), was a legal impediment sufficient for them to reject the political change brought about by the *Revolution* of December 1688. Thus, the main reason for this schism was a matter of conscience, and pertained rather to a political stance than to a number of doctrinal differences or worship practices at variance with the Church of England. Originally, the group of Nonjurors included nine English bishops, among them the archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, most bishops of Scotland and an Irish bishop, as well as around 400 clergymen and numerous lay personalities. In February 1690, breaching the canons of the Church, all the bishops who had not taken the oath of allegiance to the royal family were deposed by a *Parliament Act*. In the summer of 1691, new bishops were ordained for the sees declared vacant, but the Nonjurors refused to acknowledge them, and appointed their own bishops instead. During the 18th century, the Nonjurors' number gradually diminished, and after the death of the last Stuart (Charles Edward Stuart, † January 31, 1788) the reason for their dissent disappeared. However, some Nonjuror families subsisted into early 19th century, when they were formally reintegrated into the Church of England. The principles of Nonjuror Anglicans imposed strict observance of the oath to the King/Queen, as well as the passive obedience to the representatives of

Martins in the Fields, London: [s.n.], 1682; "S. Barnabas', Pimlico; S. Stephen's, Westminster; and S. Mary's, Crown Street," *The Ecclesiologist*, XI/VIII (1850), 79/43 (August), 120; J.H. Cardwell, H.B. Freeman, G.C. Wilton, *Two Centuries of Soho: Its Institutions, Firms, and Amusements*, London: Truslove and Hanson, 1898, 31-35; Theodore E. Dowling, Edwin W. Fletcher, *Hellenism in England. A Short History of the Greek People in This Country from the Earliest Times to the Present Day with Seventeen Illustrations*, with an Introduction by His Excellency Joannes Gennadius, London: Faith Press, 1915, 80-85; Michael Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London*, Oxford: University Press, 1933, 2-7; "The Greek Church (Later St. Mary's, Crown Street) and St. Martin's Almshouses," in: *Survey of London*, vol. 33 (*The Parish of St. Anne, Soho*), coll. *Greater London Council Publication* 38, [London]: Athlone Press, 1966, 278-287.

the British monarchy. They also stressed the external practice of divine worship, a notion resumed by the Tractarian movement of the 19th century.¹²

In this domestic dispute occurred within the Church of England at the turn of the 17th century, no serious scholar could deem the Nonjurors as legitimate representatives of the British Church. However, the correspondence maintained between these Anglican theologians and the Eastern Church becomes very relevant if we transcend the rigid boundaries imposed by the issue of dialogue legitimacy and focus on the thorough analysis of the doctrinal convergence or divergence between the two ecclesial traditions.

Broadly speaking, this dialogue starts with the meeting on British territory, in London, of the Greek metropolitan Arsenios from Egypt and the Scottish bishop Archibald Campbell. The two discussed the possibility of a religious union of the Eastern Patriarchates and the Nonjurors' faction, and as a result, in August 1716, the Anglican Nonjuror theologians drafted a proposal for religious union and addressed it to the four Eastern patriarchs. This proposal was also forwarded to Czar Peter the Great (1682-1725), so that the envisaged union should include the Russian Orthodox Church. The synodical answer of the Orthodox patriarchs, dated April 12, 1718, was discouraging to the Nonjuror *Luthero-Calvinists*, as it pointed out that "the Eastern Orthodox teachings of the faith are the only true, unadulterated doctrine." Two other texts were added, to complement this exhaustive answer: a copy of the letter originally sent in 1672 to those "loving the Greek Church of Britain," and a synodical decree concerning the

¹² For details, see: *A Vindication of Their Majesties Authority to fill the Sees of the Deprived Bishops*, London: printed for Ric. Chiswell, 1691; *The Unreasonableness of a Separation from the New Bishops or A Treatise out of Ecclesiastical History shewing that although a Bishop was Unjustly Deprived, neither He, nor the Church ever made a Separation if the Successor was not a Heretic*, translated out of an Ancient Greek Manuscript in the Public Library at Oxford by Humphrey Hody, B.D., Fellow of Wadham College, London: printed by J. Heptinstall, 1691; *The True and Ancient Hereditary Right consider'd and explain'd: Being a Demonstration that His present Majesty, King George the Second receives from His Royal Father the best Hereditary Right to the Crown of England and Ireland of any Monarch that hath sat upon the Throne since Richard the First. Being and Answer to the Non-Jurors Argument on Hereditary Right*, London: printed and sold by N. Blandford, 1729; Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit.; Agnes Strickland, *The Lives of the Seven Bishops Committed to the Tower in 1688*, Enriched and Illustrated with Personal Letters, Now First Published, from the Bodleian Library, London: Bell and Daldy, 1866; J.H. Overton, *The Nonjurors: Their Lives, Principles, and Writings*, London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1902; Henry Broxap, *The Later Non-Jurors*, Cambridge: University Press, 1924; Eugene Parker Chase, *The Political Theory of the Nonjurors*, doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1924; Lucy Mary Hawkins, *Allegiance in Church and State: the Problem of the Nonjurors in the English Revolution*, London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1928; J.W.C. Wand, *The High Church Schism: Four Lectures on the Nonjurors*, London / New York: Faith Press / Morehouse-Gorham Co., [1951]; John C. Findon, *The Nonjurors and the Church of England, 1689-1716*, doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1978.

Holy Eucharist (originally dispatched in 1691). Although the two parties obviously had dissenting views on matters of the faith, such as the veneration of saints and icons, the Eucharistic transsubstantiation, etc., the dialogue continued. Thus, in May 1722, the Nonjuror theologians addressed a new proposal for union to the Eastern patriarchs, and again Czar Peter the Great encouraged this endeavor. In September 1723, three of the four Eastern patriarchs (except for the patriarch of Alexandria, Samuel Kapasoules, 1710-1723, who died precisely at the respective time) sent a brief answer accompanied by a copy of the confession of faith written by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos II Notaras (1669-1707). During this second stage of the dialogue with the Eastern patriarchs, the Nonjuror Anglicans also tackled the issue of a religious union with the representatives of the standing Synod — the Most Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, capitalizing on the sympathy shown by Czar Peter the Great for the cause of British Jacobites, with whom these Nonjurors could be assimilated. A theological conference at Moscow was envisaged to discuss all the points on which the two parties were at variance; however, due to a variety of causes (Nonjurors' difficulty in sending their delegates to this conference, then the death of Czar Peter the Great and the lack of interest shown by Czarina Catherine I, 1725-1727) this project failed. Finally, in September 1725, the actual canonical status of the self-entitled *catholic remnant of Britain* was exposed in the letter of the archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, addressed to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysantos Notaras, the author of the first answer to the Nonjurors' proposals.

The many details behind this picture of the correspondence maintained between the Nonjurors and Constantinople *via* Moscova / Sankt Petersburg may account for the broader context of this threefold conversation. Therefore a comprehensive re-evaluation, covering both the theological synopsis of assent and dissent, or even those points intentionally omitted by the dialogue partners, and the broader historical context, including Russia's foreign policy under Peter the Great or the situation of the Eastern Patriarchates in early 18th century becomes mandatory.

Status quaestionis

Applying the chronological criterion in the presentation and analysis of the available bibliography concerning this topic, the first author to provide a short account of this episode of the correspondence maintained by the Nonjuror Anglicans and the Eastern Church was John Skinner,¹³ a presby-

¹³ John Skinner, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, from the First Appearance of Christianity in that Kingdom, to the Present Time, with Remarks on the most Important Occurrences*,

ter of the Episcopal (Anglican) Church of Scotland. The interest taken by the Scottish clergyman in this topic was a marginal one, generated by the involvement of two Nonjuror bishops of Scottish origin in this dialogue. The English translation of the impressive *History of the Church of Russia*, by A.N. Mouravieff (Sankt Petersburg, 1838) came out in 1842.¹⁴ In an end-note, the Russian author made an extensive digression on the final parts of this theological dialogue and the involvement of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Thomas Lathbury¹⁵ approached this issue in a much more scholarly manner, as he had access to the events' description provided by the manuscript of Thomas Brett, one of the participants in this dialogue. Lathbury therefore was the first to compile a *dossier* of this correspondence, by publishing in full the most important documents signed by the Nonjurors, as well as excerpts from the answering letters of the Orthodox patriarchs. During the same year (1845), Richard White Blackmore¹⁶ added to Th. Lathbury's *dossier* the two letters received by the Nonjurors from the standing Most Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church.

A brief presentation of this dialogue, bringing no new information, was published by Aloys Pichler,¹⁷ *privatdocent* of *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*. Also, the anonymous author¹⁸ of the article entitled *Re-union*, issued in 1863, added nothing significant to the information collected that far. In the following year (1864), however, the *Russo-Greek Committee* of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. published a brochure especially dedicated to this topic. Having access to the archives of the Most Holy Governing Synod of Sankt Petersburg, the author¹⁹ of this publication was able to complete Th. Lathbury's *dossier* with ten further epistles exchanged between the Nonjurors and metropolitan Arsenios, re-

in a *Series of Letters to a Friend*, vol. II, London: printed for T. Evans and R.N. Cheyne, 1788, 634-640.

¹⁴ A.N. Mouravieff, *A History of the Church of Russia*, translated by the Rev. R.W. Blackmore, Oxford / London: John Henry Parker / Rivingtons, 1842, 407-410.

¹⁵ Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 309-361.

¹⁶ *The Doctrine of the Russian Church, being the Primer or Spelling Book, the Shorter & Larger Catechisms, & A Treatise on the Duty of Parish Priests*, translated from the Slavono-Russian originals by the Rev. R.W. Blackmore, Aberdeen / New York: A. Brown and Co. / Appletons, 1845, XXVI-XXVIII.

¹⁷ A. Pichler, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident von den ersten Anfängen bis zur jüngsten Gegenwart*, II. Band (*Die Russische, Hellenische und die übrigen orientalischen Kirchen mit einem dogmatischen Theile*), München: M. Rieger'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1865, 297-300.

¹⁸ "Re-union," *The Union Review. A Magazin of Catholic Literature and Art*, I (1863), 7-10.

¹⁹ *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Non-Jurors and the Russians*), [New York: s.n., 1864], 16 p.

spectively, the Governing Synod. The brochure concluded with the letter of the archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem, in September 1725, exposing the schismatic position of the Nonjuror theologians.

Shortly afterwards, in 1868, George Williams²⁰ signed a new edition of the *dossier* containing the correspondence between the Nonjurors and the Orthodox Church, greatly improved in comparison with Lathbury's and its subsequent additions. Having access to three manuscripts containing the documents sent and received by the Nonjurors, the author published the English translation of all letters, augmenting the material with an ample introduction dedicated to the previous relationships between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.

The Greek scholar Spyridon P. Lampros²¹ published the letter addressed by the patriarch of Alexandria, Samuel Kapasoules (1710-1723), to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Anna Stuart (1702-1714), dated February 25, 1712. In Russia, the first part of this correspondence (namely, the letter written by patriarch Samuel Kapasoules to Queen Anna in February 1712, the Nonjurors' proposal of August 1716, the letter addressed to Czar Peter the Great in October 1717 and the answer given by the Orthodox patriarchs in April 1718) was presented in detail by bishop Porphyry Uspensky,²² in a posthumous work.

In 1899 were printed two publications tackling the relationships between the Nonjuror theologians and the Orthodox Church. Manouil Gedeon²³ issued the Greek-language version of the second answer of the Orthodox patriarchs (September 1723), however the text deliberately omitted the fragments which the author deemed to be already known to the readership.

²⁰ George Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century, being the Correspondence between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Nonjuring Bishops, with an Introduction on Various Projects of Reunion between the Eastern Church and the Anglican Communion*, London / Oxford / Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1868. He had previously (in the year 1866) published the Latin version of the letter addressed by archbishop Wake to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras, in September 1725: George Williams, *Yearnings after Unity in the East (From the Writings of the Most Reverend Gregory of Byzantium, Metropolitan of Chios)*, coll. *Occasional Paper of the Eastern Church Association III*, London / Oxford / Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1866, 24-26.

²¹ Σπυρ. Π. Λάμπρος, "Ο πατριαρχικός θρόνος Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀπὸ Σαμουήλ τοῦ Καπασούλη μέχρι καὶ Ματθαίου. Κατ' ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα," *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 3 (1889), 562-567.

²² Πορφύριη [Успенский], *Восток христианский. Александрийская патриархия. Сѣборник материалов, исследований и записок, относящихся до истории Александрийской патриархии*, т. 1, под ред. Хр. М. Лопарева, Санкт-Петербург: Изд. Императорской Академии Наук, 1898, 296-301, 350-364.

²³ Μανουήλ Ἰω. Γεδεών, *Κανονικαὶ Διατάξεις: Ἐπιστολαί, λύσεις, θεσπίσματα τῶν Ἀγιωτάτων Πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου μέχρι Διονυσίου τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀδριανουπόλεως, τόμος δεύτερος, Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, 1889, 428-436.*

Then, Alexander Hugh Hore²⁴ provided a synthetic presentation of this correspondence, which, based on the already-published *dossier* of the entire exchange, exceeded the previous editions.

Shortly afterwards, John Dowden²⁵ published a systematic catalogue of all the documents comprising the entire correspondence, providing further information on those who edited the texts of Nonjuror Anglicans, as well as the names of those who translated them into Greek and Latin. In 1902, John H. Overton²⁶ dedicated to this early 18th century dialogue an entire chapter in his monograph on the Nonjurors, however without surpassing the previous analysis provided by A.H. Hore.

In 1905 was published the critical edition²⁷ of this *dossier* of the correspondence maintained between the Nonjuror theologians and the Orthodox patriarchs. The Assumptionist L. Petit and revd. J.B. Martin, professor at the Catholic University of Lyon, collected all documents in their original languages (English, Greek, Latin and Russian), amended and published them in a single volume, in continuation of Giovanni Domenico Mansi's collection of documents. Simultaneously, L. Petit²⁸ published in the periodical of Augustinian Assumptionist community of Kadiköy (Istanbul) an article on the broader context of this letter exchange. Also, during the same year, independently from the activity of these two Catholic scholars, archimandrite Kallinikos Delikanis,²⁹ relying solely on manuscript Gr. 227 as the only source available in the archive of the Holy Sepulchre metochion in Constantinople, published the full Greek text of the answer addressed by the Orthodox patriarchs to the Most Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church (September 1723), as well as a brief description of the same patriarchs' answer addressed to the Nonjuror Anglican theologians (September 1723).

The Greek scholar Chrysostomos A. Papadopoulos³⁰ investigated this

²⁴ A.H. Hore, *Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church*, London: James Parker and Co., 1899, 593-613.

²⁵ John Dowden, "Notes on the Original Documents containing, or relating to, the Proposals of the Nonjuring Bishops for a *Concordate* with the Holy Orthodox Church of the East (1716-1725)," *JTS* 1 (1900), 4, 562-568 [republished in Mansi XXXVII, 599-604].

²⁶ Overton, *The Nonjurors* cit., 451-466.

²⁷ Mansi XXXVII, 369-624. The Latin translation of the first answer given by the Orthodox patriarchs (April 18th, 1718) was carried out by Professor N. Festa.

²⁸ L. Petit, "Entre Anglicans et Orthodoxes au début du XVIII^e siècle (1716-1725)," *EO* 8 (1905), 55, 321-328.

²⁹ Καλλινίκος Δελικάνης, *Πατριαρχικῶν ἐγγράφων, τόμος τρίτος, Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου*, 1905, 237-240.

³⁰ The first discussion of this topic was published in: Χρυσοστόμος Α. Παπαδόπουλος, "Δοσίθεος Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων (1641-1707)," *Νέα Σιών* 5 (1907), 1-2, 157-167 [republished in the excerpt: Id., *Δοσίθεος Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων (1641-1707), Ἱεροσολύμοις: Τύποις Ἱεροῦ Κοι-*

topic *in extenso*, enlarging the *dossier* of the respective correspondence with the letters sent by the metropolitan of Thebais, Arsenios, the main promoter of this dialogue, to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem (1707-1731). On the other hand, Adrian Fortescue,³¹ the author of a monograph dedicated to Eastern Christianity, provided a short account of this moment in the relationships between Orthodox and Anglicans, without undertaking any exhaustive analysis. Another synthetic presentation, lacking any significant novelties, was included in the *Church History* authored by metropolitan Philaretos Bapheides.³² Another Orthodox hierarch, metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira,³³ mentioned this dialogue in his speech occasioned by the Congress of the Church of England (Cheltenham, 1928). The Greek theologian Ioannis Karmires³⁴ discussed this topic in depth in a volume exclusively dedicated to the relationships between Orthodoxy and Protestantism, subsequently including the Orthodox patriarchs' answers among the most relevant dogmatic and symbolic documents of the Orthodox Church.

νοῦ τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, 1907, 72 pp.]. He subsequently addressed this topic exclusively in a comprehensive study: Id., "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα. Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ Ἀρσενίου Θηβαΐδος περὶ ἀποπείρας ἐνώσεως τῶν Ἀγγλῶν Ἀνωμότων μετὰ τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων (1716-1725)," *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 7 (1911), 117-144; 199-225 [republished in: Id., *Ἀποπείρα ἐνώσεως τῶν Ἀγγλῶν Ἀνωμότων μετὰ τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων (1716-1725)*, Ἀλεξάνδρεια: Πατριαρχικὸν Τυπογραφεῖον, 1911, 57 p.]. An English translation of the five letters written by metropolitan Arsenios was published in: Chrysostom of Athens, "An Unpublished Correspondence," *The Church Quarterly Review* 113 (1931-1932), 225, 1-11 (the English translation has been prepared by Irene Alivisatou).

³¹ Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, London: Catholic Truth Society, 1907, 257-258. This volume was later republished twice (1908, 1911), by the same publishing house, without any significant alterations.

³² Φιλάρετος Βαφείδης, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων*, τόμος III (Νέα Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, 1453-1908), μέρος Β' (Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ ΙΗ' αἰῶνος, 1700, μέχρι τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡμῶν, 1908), Ἀλεξάνδρεια: Πατριαρχικὸν Τυπογραφεῖον, 1928, 96-102. See also: Φιλάρετος [Βαφείδης], "Ἀποσημειώματα Ἐντυπώσεων τῆς ἐν Λάμπει Πάλας Πατριαρχικῆς Ἀποστολῆς," *Νέος Ποιμὴν* (Παράρτημα τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἀληθείας) 3 (1921), 1-2, 61-63.

³³ Germanos of Thyateira, "Progress Towards the Re-Union of the Orthodox and the Anglican Churches," *The Christian East* 10 (1929), 1, 22. This text was translated into German by Rev. Dr. Führer and published in: Germanos von Thyateira, "Fortschritte in der Wiedervereinigungsfrage der Orthodoxen und Anglikanischen Kirchen," *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 19 (1929), 3, 131-132.

³⁴ See: Ἰωάννης Ν. Καρμίρης, *Ὁρθοδοξία καὶ Προτεσταντισμός*, τόμος I, Ἀθῆναι: [s.n.], 1937, 318-328; Id., *Τὰ Δογματικὰ καὶ Συμβολικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, τόμος II, Ἀθῆναι: [s.n.], 1953, 783-820 [text republished in: Id., *Τὰ Δογματικὰ καὶ Συμβολικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (*Dogmatica et Symbolica Monumenta Orthodoxae Catholicae Ecclesiae*), Ἔκδοσις Δεύτερα Ἐπηξημένη (Editio Secunda), τόμος II, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1968, 863-900] (the two answers of the Orthodox patriarchs, of which the first is published in full but without any appendices, and the second answer omits the text of the *confession of faith* made by patriarch Dositheos II Notaras of Jerusalem, 1669-1707, are preceded by a brief introduction that presents the context in which these two texts were written and dispatched).

The Russian-born theologian Georges Florovsky,³⁵ in his account of the ecumenical events in which the Orthodox Church had been involved until 1910, addresses this issue very cursorily, however providing some very interesting answers. Equally laconic was the British Terence Spencer in dealing with this issue.³⁶ The first Romanian author to approach it was Teodor M. Popescu,³⁷ but the few pages touching upon this topic merely introduced it to the Romanian readership, insufficiently acquainted with the specialized literature already published in the academic milieus of Great Britain, Greece and Russia.

Equally cursory are the famous compendium of *Church History* authored by Basileios K. Stephanides,³⁸ a professor at the Faculty of Theology in Athens; the synthesis dedicated to Eastern Christendom by Nicolas Zernov,³⁹ professor at University of Oxford; and the analysis undertaken by George H. Tavard⁴⁰ on Anglican attempts to restore the unity of the Church. In 1965, during one of the Anglican-Orthodox conferences organized by *The Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, the Anglican theologian Herbert Walter Langford⁴¹ delivered a comprehensive presentation of the relationships between the Nonjurors and the Orthodox patriarchs. The originality of this text lies not only in some new information with contextual character, but also in relating the Nonjurors' proposals to their doctrine (especially John Johnson's Eucharistic theology) and worship (Thomas Brett's works).

Although he published a volume exclusively dedicated to the relations between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism, the Greek theologian Basileios Th.

³⁵ Georges Florovsky, "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement prior to 1910," in: Ruth Rouse, Stephen Charles Neill (eds.), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement (1517-1948)*, London: SPCK, 1954, 190-193.

³⁶ Terence Spencer, *Fair Greece, Sad Relic: Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1954, 106-108. This book was later re-published twice, with no amends (New York: Octagon Books, 1973; Athens: Denise Harvey, 1986).

³⁷ Teodor M. Popescu, "Raporturile dintre ortodocși și anglicani din secolul XVI până la anul 1920," *Ortodoxia* 10 (1958), 2, 183-187. The same text was translated into English and published posthumously in: Teodor M. Popescu, "Orthodox-Anglican Relations from the 16th Century to 1920," in: *Romanian Orthodox Church and the Church of England*, Bucharest: Biblical and Orthodox Missionary Institute, 1976, 30-35.

³⁸ Βασίλειος Κ. Στεφανίδης, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία. Ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι σήμερον*, Ἔκδοσις Δεύτερα, Ἀθῆναι: Ἀστήρ / Παπαδημητρίου, 1959, 708-709.

³⁹ Nicolas Zernov, *Eastern Christendom. A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1961, 159.

⁴⁰ George H. Tavard, *The Quest for Catholicity. A Study in Anglicanism*, London: Burns & Oates, 1963, 106-108. Also see the French edition, revised and amended by the author: *La poursuite de la catholicité: Étude sur la pensée anglicane*, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965, 128-129.

⁴¹ H.W. Langford, "The Non-Jurors and the Eastern Orthodox," *Eastern Churches Review* 1 (1966-1967), 2, 118-131.

Staurides⁴² approached this topic very briefly, only mentioning a few of the notable works. Sir Steven Runciman⁴³ is one of the prominent authors who dealt with this episode of ecclesiastic diplomacy. His focus was on ascertaining the context in which Czar Peter the Great became interested in this interaction between the faction of Nonjuror Anglicans and the Eastern Patriarchates, thus adding a further circumstantial notice to subsequent research.

In 1972, the Greek archbishop Methodios Fouyas,⁴⁴ investigating the relationship between Orthodoxy, and the Roman-Catholic and the Anglican Churches, respectively, included this episode in an extremely short paragraph. Relying primarily on the incomplete manuscript belonging to the *Jolly Kist* collection, in the library of the Episcopal Theological College in Edinburgh (currently held by the *National Archive of Scotland*), Henry R. Sefton⁴⁵ highlighted the role played by the Scottish bishops in the Nonjurors' correspondence with the Eastern patriarchs. In his doctoral thesis dedicated to the ecumenical relations maintained by the Church of England, rev. Alexandru Moraru⁴⁶ mentioned it too, however relying exclusively on secondary bibliography.

⁴² Βασίλειος Θ. Σταυρίδης, 'Ορθοδοξία καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμός, Ἀθήναι: [s.n.], 1963, 9-11 [this comprehensive analysis of Constantinople-Canterbury relations was first published in: Βασίλειος Θ. Σταυρίδης, "Ὁρθοδοξία καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμός," *Θεολογία* 32 (1961), 2, 175-195; 32 (1961), 3, 410-436; 32 (1961), 4, 582-607; 33 (1962), 2, 273-290; 33 (1962), 3, 355-375; 33 (1962), 4, 520-547; 34 (1963), 1, 58-83]. Also see the English translation: V.T. Istavridis, *Orthodoxy & Anglicanism*, translated by Colin Davey, London: SPCK, 1966, 4-5. Also, with less relevance for the topic, see: Βασίλειος Θ. Σταυρίδης, "Ὁρθοδοξία καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμός κατὰ τὸν Κ' αἰῶνα," *Γρηγόριος ο Παλαμάς* 43 (1960), 502-503, 121-133; 43 (1960), 504-505, 204-215 [abbreviated version subsequently published in: Id., *Ὁρθοδοξία καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμός κατὰ τὸν Κ' αἰῶνα*, Θεσσαλονίκη: τύποις Μ. Τριανταφύλλου, 1960].

⁴³ See: Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity. A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, Cambridge: University Press, 1968, 310-319; Steven Runciman, "The British Non-Jurors and the Russian Church," in: Andrew Blane & Thomas E. Bird (eds.), *The Ecumenical World of Orthodox Civilization. Russia and Orthodoxy*, volume III (*Essays in honor of Georges Florovsky*), coll. *Slavistic Printings and Reprintings* 260/3, The Hague / Paris: Mouton, 1974, 155-161.

⁴⁴ Methodios Fouyas, *Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism*, London: Oxford University Press, 1972, 37. This volume was subsequently reprinted with no alterations, even preserving the page numbers of the previous edition (Brookline MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984). See also the modern Greek translation: Μεθόδιος Γ. Φούγιας, *Ὁρθοδοξία, Ρωμαιο-Καθολικισμός καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμός*, Ἀθήνα: «Νέα Σύνορα» - Α.Α. Λιβάνης, 1996, 97-98.

⁴⁵ Henry R. Sefton, "The Scottish Bishops and Archbishop Arsenius," in: Derek Baker (ed.), *The Orthodox Churches and the West (Papers read at the Fourteenth Summer Meeting and the Fifteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society)*, coll. *Studies in Church History* 13, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976, 239-246.

⁴⁶ Alexandru Moraru, "Biserica Angliei și Ecumenismul. Legăturile ei cu Biserica Ortodoxă Română" (partea a II-a), *Ortodoxia* 38 (1986), 1, 10-12.

Later on, the diplomatic aspect of the relationships between Czar Peter the Great and the Nonjuror theologians was outstandingly analyzed by Christopher Knight.⁴⁷ The same topic was also investigated in the context of the correspondence between Nonjurors and Constantinople by Ann Shukman,⁴⁸ the niece of Steven Runciman, who had been the first to dwell on this aspect.

Chronologically, the latest analysis of this *dossier* was published by Judith E. Pinnington,⁴⁹ who demonstrated with excellent arguments the natural affinities between the Nonjurors and the Orthodox Church, manifest in their thorough study of patristic texts and the stress laid on the authenticity of divine worship, as well as the openness of Russian Orthodoxy towards a possible ecclesial union, allowed by the liturgical reforms operated by patriarch Nikon (1652-1658), who rejected the re-baptizing of Christians converted to Orthodoxy.

Finally, relevant information concerning various aspects of this subject-matter can be found in some other works of the following authors: Michael Constantinides⁵⁰ (the activity of Metropolitan Arsenios of Thebais in London, where he aimed to restore the Greek community of the British capital city), Norman Sykes⁵¹ (the correspondence between the archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos Notaras), James Cracraft⁵² (the influence exerted by the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, on the Russian Czar, Peter the Great), Irmgard Hutter⁵³ (the correspondence between archbishop William Wake and patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras), Vasilios N. Makrides⁵⁴ (an outline of the Anglican-Orthodox meeting in early 18th century), Nigel and Caroline Webb⁵⁵ (the

⁴⁷ Christopher Knight, "Had the Czar not died: Peter the Great and the nonjurors," *Sobornost* (incorporating *Eastern Churches Review*) 11 (1989), 1-2, 18-30. See also: Christopher Knight, "People so beset with Saints: Anglican Attitudes to Orthodoxy (1555-1725)," *Sobornost* (incorporating *Eastern Churches Review*) 10 (1988), 2, 33-36.

⁴⁸ Ann Shukman, "The Non-Jurors, Peter the Great and the Eastern Patriarchs," in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 175-191.

⁴⁹ Judith Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox. Unity and Subversion, 1559-1725*, Leominster: Gracewing, 2003, 156-197.

⁵⁰ Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London* cit., 9-16.

⁵¹ Norman Sykes, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury (1657-1737)*, vol. II, Cambridge: University Press, 1957, 178-180.

⁵² James Cracraft, *The Church Reform of the Peter the Great*, London: Macmillan, 1971, 28-37.

⁵³ Irmgard Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, Band 4.1 (Oxford. Christ Church. Textband), Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1993, XXXIX-XLI.

⁵⁴ Vasilios N. Makrides, "Greek Orthodox Compensatory Strategies towards Anglicans and the West at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century," in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 278-281.

⁵⁵ Nigel Webb, Caroline Webb, *The Earl and His Butler in Constantinople. The Secret Diary*

diary of Samuel Medley, *Stoor keeper & Cheife Buttler*, later *Groome of the Chambers*, of Lord Kinnoull, the British ambassador to the *Sublime Porte* between 1729-1735) and Ovidiu Olar⁵⁶ (Thomas Payne's contribution in exposing the Nonjuror's actions).

The activity carried out by metropolitan Arsenios of Thebais in Britain

The main character in the dialogue between Nonjuror Anglicans and the Eastern Church, in early 18th century, was Arsenios, the metropolitan of Thebais in Egypt. His arrival in London was directly determined by the circumstances of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, around 1712. After patriarch Gerasimos II Palladas freely stepped down from office on January 20, 1710, his successor to the see of Alexandria was Samuel Kapasoules (January 22, 1710 – Sept. 1723) the metropolitan of Libya, elected in compliance with canon law prescriptions.⁵⁷ He faced an exceptional situation: in Constantinople, metropolitan Cosmas of Claudiopoli (former archbishop of Sinai)⁵⁸ had secured, by offering considerable amounts of money, the

of an English Servant among the Ottomans, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009.

⁵⁶ Ovidiu Olar, "L'histoire impossible. Autour d'une lettre du révérend Thomas Payne (Constantinople, 3/14 mars 1735)," in: *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, VI, recueillies et publiées par Emilian Popescu, Tudor Teoteoi et Mihai Ovidiu Cătoi, București: Editura Academiei Române, 2011, 408-410.

⁵⁷ For details on the life and activity of patriarch Samuel Kapasoules, see: Α. Παπαδόπουλος Κεραμεώς, "Αὐτοβιογραφικαὶ σημειώσεις τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας Σαμουήλ τοῦ Καπασούλη," *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 3 (1889), 504-505; Α. Παπαδόπουλος Κεραμεώς, "Σημειώσεις περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας Σαμουήλ τοῦ Καπασούλη," *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 3 (1889), 505-521; Georg Hofmann, "Griechische Patriarchen und römische Päpste. Untersuchungen und Texte, I. Samuel Kapasoules, Patriarch von Alexandrien, und Papst Klemens XI," *OCh* 13 (1928), 2, 79-180; Χ.Α. Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 8 (1911), 241-280; Id., "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα. Σαμουήλ Καπασούλη Ἡμερολόγιον," *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 8 (1911), 330-337; 401-418; *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 9 (1912), 49-57; 212-221 [all these texts also re-published in one volume: Id., *Σαμουήλ Καπασούλης Πάπας καὶ Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας (1661-1723)*, Ἀλεξάνδρεια: Πατριαρχικὸν Τυπογραφεῖον, 1912]; И. Соколов, "Избрание Александрийских патриархов в XVIII и XIX столетиях: исторический очерк," *Христианское Чтение* 91 (1911), 7-8, 803-830 [text included in the volume: И. Соколов, *Избрание Александрийских патриархов в XVIII и XIX столетиях: исторический очерк*, Петроград: Тип. М. Меркушева, 1916]; Χρυσόστομος Παπαδόπουλος, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας (62-1934)*, Ἀλεξάνδρεια: Πατριαρχικὸν Τυπογραφεῖον, 1935, 715-749 [volume republished in anastatic edition in: Θεσσαλονίκη: Ἑκδόσεις Π. Πουρναρά, 2009].

⁵⁸ The administrative-ecclesiastical offices held by this Cosmas are the following: archbishop of Sinai (1703-1706), metropolitan of Claudiopoli (1706-1714), ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople (1714-1716) and patriarch of Alexandria (1723-1736); the latter two positions reversing the path followed by Kyrillos Loukaris, in closer compliance with the old order of the Church, when Alexandria was still the second see (John Mason Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, part 2, vol. II, London: Joseph Masters, 1847, 475 [republished in anastatic edition in: vol. 4, New York: AMS Press, 1976]). For details on his life and activity,

favor of the Turkish grand vizier, and had been appointed to the see of Alexandria — a decision accepted and thus endorsed by the ecumenical patriarch Kyrillos IV (1711-1713). Forced to renounce his plans to travel to Constantinople and the Romanian Principalities, when he was already about to leave the harbor of Alexandria, patriarch Samuel Kapasoules was advised by his counsellors to attempt to consolidate his position by making a counter-offer to the Ottoman vizier. Thus the metropolitan Cosmas' intentions were prevented, however at great cost: the patriarch had to take out a massive loan from *foreigners and infidels*, and many of the Church's sacred vessels were pawned as guarantee for the loan.⁵⁹

To settle this situation, patriarch Samuel sent reliable people here and there to obtain the necessary amount of money to pay off his debts. One of his most important delegations was thus sent to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Anna Stuart (1702-1714). The circumstances leading to the arrival of this Alexandrian *embassy* in London are tellingly described in a paragraph inserted at the end of the correspondence *dossier*, written by bishop Thomas Brett and kept among the manuscripts belonging to bishop Alexander Jolly (currently held by the *National Archive of Scotland* in Edinburgh):

Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebais, was sent in 1712, by Samuel, Patriarch of Alexandria, from Grand Cairo in Egypt, to represent to the Protestant Princes and States in Europe the truly deplorable circumstances of the Greek Church under the severe tyranny and oppression of the Turks, and to solicit a sum of money, particularly for the Patriarchal See of Alexandria brought under a load of debt of 30,000 dollars, by one Cosmo, formerly Archbishop of Mount Sinai, his pretending to deprive said Samuel of his right to the Patriarchate of Alexandria and to take possession for himself, having by the force of money procured himself to be invested by the Grand Vizier in said Patriarchal throne, whose Clergy made a noble stand for their Patriarch, Samuel, and would not suffer him to be deprived by his adversary. For which cause, to raise money, Samuel was forced to sell and lay in pawn many of the sacred vessels, patriarchal habits, and other utensils of the Church. Cosmo at length renounced all title to Alexandria, and

see: Χρυσοστόμος Α. Παπαδόπουλος, "Περὶ τοῦ Κλαυδιουπόλεως (Σιναίου, Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Ἀλεξανδρείας) Κοσμᾶ," *Νέα Σιών* 2 (1905), 6, 894-899; Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 8 (1911), 241-280; И. Соколов, "Избрание Александрийских патриархов в XVIII и XIX столетиях: исторический очерк," *Христианское Чтение* 91 (1911), 9, 1109-1125; Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 9 (1912), 324-330; † Ὁ Σιναίου Πορφύριος, "Σιναϊτικά. Οἱ κατὰ τὸν ΙΗ' αἰῶνα ἀρχιερατεύσαντες ἐν Σινᾷ. Α' Κοσμᾶς ὁ ἐκ Χρυσοπόλεως τῆς Βιθυνίας," *Νέα Σιών* 29 (1934), 62-67; Χρυσοστόμος Παπαδόπουλος, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας (62-1934)*, Ἀλεξάνδρεια: Πατριαρχικὸν Τυπογραφεῖον, 1935, 749-750.

⁵⁹ Sefton, "The Scottish Bishops and Archbishop Arsenius" cit., 239; Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* cit., 310; Runciman, "The British Non-Jurors and the Russian Church" cit., 156.

was then duly elected Patriarch of Constantinople, upon which a firm peace and friendship commenced between Samuel and him. At what particular time Arsenius arrived in England I have not yet discovered, but that he was in London in 1714 and 1716 is very certain. He received from Anne, £ 300 Sterling, and from George I, £ 100, for the Church of Alexandria. But Arsenius by his long stay in London, being nine in family, had contracted debts for necessary subsistence on the most ordinary food: for the payment of which he was obliged to apply in the way of humble petition to all charitable and tender-hearted Christians. He was attended by Father Gennadius (whom I take to be the one called the Archimandrite in the foregoing correspondence) Abbot of the monks of the See of Alexandria, and by Deacons and other domestics. All this is set forth at large in a 4to. Pamphlet of twenty pages including title page and preface, intitled 'Lachrymae et Suspiria Ecclesiae Graecae, or the distressed State of the Greek Church humbly represented in a Letter to her late Majesty, Queen Anne.' Printed in London, 1715.⁶⁰

In the letter⁶¹ addressed to Queen Anna Stuart, dated February 25, 1712, patriarch Samuel Kapasoules described the difficulties faced at the time by the see of Alexandria, attacked not only from the outside by its enemies, but "also afflicted by the wickedness and attacks of our own fellow people."⁶² Information on the British Queen's deeds of Christian charity had reached Egypt:

you give at all times comfort to the distressed, clothing to the naked, nourishment to the deprived, support to the needy, consolation to the suffering, help to the oppressed, freedom to the imprisoned, strength to the endangered, you are a defender of cities, a pillar of the Holy Churches, a governor of religious institutions, a benefactor of bishops, peace of patriarchs and adornment of the Holy Sees.⁶³

⁶⁰ Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 356-357.

⁶¹ The Greek-language version was simultaneously published in: Λάμπρος, "Ο πατριαρχικός θρόνος" cit., 562-567; Πορφύριος [Успенский], *Восток христианский. Александрийская патриархия. Сборник материалов, исследований и записок, относящихся до истории Александрийской патриархии*, т. 1, под ред. Хр. М. Лопарева, Санкт-Петербург: Изд. Императорской Академии Наук, 1898, 296-300. There is also a rough translation into English, published during the visit of Metropolitan Arsenios to London: *Lachrymae et Suspiria Ecclesiae Graecae: or, the Distressed State of the Greek Church, Humbly Represented in a Letter to Her Late Majesty, Queen Anne, from the Patriarch of Alexandria, by the Hands of Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebais, Now Residing in London*, London: [s.n.], 1715, 6-10.

⁶² Λάμπρος, "Ο πατριαρχικός θρόνος" cit., 565: "ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἡμῖν ὁμοιοσχήμον κινηθείσης τῆς κακίας καὶ τῶν βελῶν."

⁶³ Id., 564: "ὅτι ἐκάστοτε ἀπόρων ὑπάρχεις παραμύθιον, γυμνητευόντων σκέπη, πενομένων τροφή, ἐνδεῶν κυβέρνησις, πεπιασμένων ἐπικουρία, καταπονουμένων ἀντίληψις, αἰχμαλώτων ἐλευθερία, κινδυνευόντων ἀντιστηριγμός, πόλεων προπύργιον, ἐκκλησιῶν ἱερῶν στῦλος, σεβασμίων μονῶν χειραγωγός, ἀρχιερέων εὐεργέτης, ἐπαρχιῶν σύστασις, πατριαρχῶν ἀνάπαυσις καὶ θρόνων ἀγιωτάτων καλλωπισμός."

Thus, in order to repay the loans charging very high interest, the patriarch turned to the Queen for support, asking her to intercede with the "lords and heads of the Parliament, far and near, as well as the other lovers of the destitute, both of the holy clergy and the lay order."⁶⁴

The Egyptian delegation, comprised of nine persons, left Alexandria for Great Britain equipped with patriarch Samuel's letter, as well as recommendations from the British Consuls William Farrington and Benjamin Lodington of Cairo and Tripoli,⁶⁵ respectively. Close examination of the entire correspondence maintained by the Nonjuror theologians allows us to identify the members of this impressive Oriental *embassy* to London. Beside the delegation's head, metropolitan Arsenios, we only know the names of three persons: archimandrite Gennadios, *protosyncellos* James and deacon Symeon. The other members of this delegation were described as close friends to archimandrite Gennadios, and acted as interpreters.⁶⁶ Humphrey Wanley provides many more details on the *skills* of this delegation's members, in a handwritten paragraph added at the end of the letter addressed by archbishop William Wake to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem (*British Library*, Add. 22119 – *Original Papers and Correspondence of John Covel, D.D., Chaplain to the British Embassy at Constantinople, and Master of Christ's College, Cambridge; 17 Nov. 1655 – 29 Nov. 1748*):

they send hither Arsenius, Metropolit of Thebais, and Gennadius a Cypriot and Archimandrite, and Kathegumenos of Alexandria, with four Deacons, an Anagnostes, a Cook and an Interpreter.⁶⁷

Regarding the arrival of this delegation in London, beside *terminus post quem* (February 1712, *id est* the date when patriarch Samuel's letter was signed) and *terminus ante quem* (December 1714, *id est* the date of the correspondence between Dr. John Covel and Humphrey Wanley concerning the Alexandrian delegation), some further information can ascertain this moment. Thus, the two recommendations of the British Consuls were drafted on: February 22, 1712 (that of Consul William Farrington of Cairo), and August 15, 1712, respectively (the one signed by Consul Benjamin

⁶⁴ Id., 566: "πρίγκιπας καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς συνετωτάτης σου συγκλήτου, τοὺς τε πέλαν καὶ τοὺς μακρὰν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς φιλοπτώχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταλόγου καὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς τάξεως."

⁶⁵ The recommendations of both British Consuls were published in: *Lachrimae et Suspiria* cit., 11-12, 14.

⁶⁶ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος 7 (1911), 120; Chrysostom of Athens, "An Unpublished Correspondence" cit., 2. The bibliographic reference indicated by Chrysostomos Papadopoulos (*id est* Mansi XXXVII, 579) is erroneous.

⁶⁷ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., XXVII. This information was subsequently reiterated by: Petit, "Entre Anglicans et Orthodoxes" cit., 55, 322; Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* cit., 310-311; Runciman, "The British Non-Jurors" cit., 156.

Lodington of Tripoli). The delegation had also a third recommendation — to submit to the Dutch authorities — which had been signed at Tunis by Consul Johan. Hieronymo Waldeck, on October 4/15, 1712.⁶⁸ The obvious conclusion is that the Alexandrian delegation did not haste to leave Egypt as soon as they received the recommendation letters, but delayed their departure for Britain. As far as *terminus ante quem* is concerned, the letter which the clergy of the Church of Alexandria addressed to metropolitan Arsenios (dated February 20, 1715), reveals it was an answer to a previous letter, sent from London on July 29, 1714 by the delegation head.⁶⁹ This letter attesting the presence of the metropolitan of Thebais, as well as the entire delegation, in Great Britain in the summer of 1714, is corroborated by the information provided by the same person, who in a letter addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras in February 1728, nostalgically remembered the period of “the three years I spent in England.”⁷⁰ As the last piece of information about the presence of metropolitan Arsenios in England dates from 1717, it is almost certain that the delegation of the Patriarchate of Alexandria arrived in London in the summer of 1714, before the end of July.⁷¹

One of the supporters of the Alexandrian cause in London's society was Humphrey (Humfrey) Wanley,⁷² former secretary of *Society for the Promo-*

⁶⁸ *Lachrimae et Suspiria* cit., 15.

⁶⁹ *Id.*, 16.

⁷⁰ Παπαδόπουλος, “Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα” cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 7 (1911), 225: εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους ὅπου ἔζησα εἰς τὴν Ἑνγκλητέρα.

⁷¹ Most authors avoided commenting on this detail. Others, such as Georges Florovsky (“The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement prior to 1910” cit., 191), Teodor M. Popescu (“Raporturile dintre ortodocși și anglicani din secolul XVI până la anul 1920,” *Ortodoxia* 10 [1958], 2, 184), Henry R. Sefton (“The Scottish Bishops and Archbishop Arsenius” cit., 240) or A.H. Hore (*Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church*, London: James Parker and Co., 1899, 594) opted either for 1712, or the following year (1713). Only Steven Runciman (*The Great Church in Captivity* cit., 311; “The British Non-Jurors and the Russian Church” cit., 156) indicated “the summer of 1714” as the moment of delegates’ arrival in Great Britain, however without justifying his opinion. His dating was subsequently reiterated by: Ann Shukman, “The Non-Jurors, Peter the Great and the Eastern Patriarchs,” in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 179.

⁷² Humphrey Wanley (1672-1726) is known as the first curator of *Harleian Library* (today *Harleian Collection* within *British Library*) and a paleographer. In 1706, he was elected as a member of *Royal Society*, and in December 1707, in London, alongside John Talman and John Bagford, he established the *Society of Antiquaries*. He is also famous for the catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts he published in 1705 (*Antiquae literaturae Septentrionalis liber alter*, 2 vols.). For further details, see: G.F. Barwick, “Humfrey Wanley and the Harleian Library,” *The Library*, 2nd Series, 3 (1902), 9, 24-35; 3 (1902), 11, 243-255; Ruth C. Wright, “Letters from Humfrey Wanley to Eric Benzeliu and Peter the Great’s Librarian,” *The Durham University Journal* 32/1 (1940), 185-197; S.G. Gillam, R.W. Hunt, “The Curators of the Library and Humfrey Wanley,” *The Bodleian Library Record* 5 (1954-1956), 85-98; C.E. Wright, “Humfrey

tion of Christian Knowledge. Also, the new bishop of London, John Robinson (1714-1723),⁷³ received them cordially and facilitated their first financial aid: 200 pounds sterling from Queen Anna Stuart, respectively 100 pounds sterling from her successor, King George I (1714-1727). Moreover, when its return to Alexandria was announced, the delegation was scheduled to receive 100 pounds sterling, obtained by the same bishop John Robinson. However, compassion turned into coldness in a few months' time, because the members of the Eastern delegation decided to extend their stay in London, which was unjustified from the British standpoint, and entailed further costs for the members' subsistence. To make the situation even

Wanley: Saxonist and Library-Keeper," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 46 (1960), 99-129; Geoffrey Wakeman, "Humphrey Wanley on Erecting a Library," *The Private Library* 6 (1965), 4, 80-84; *The Diary of Humphrey Wanley, 1715-1726*, edited by C.E. Wright, Ruth C. Wright, 2 vols., London: Bibliographical Society, 1966; P.L. Heyworth, "Humphrey Wanley and Friends of the Bodleian, 1695-1698," *The Bodleian Library Record* 9 (1976), 219-230; Michael Murphy, "Humphrey Wanley on How to Run a Scholarly Library," *The Library Quarterly* 52 (1982), 2, 145-155; *Letters of Humphrey Wanley: palaeographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian, 1672-1726, with an Appendix of Documents*, edited by P.L. Heyworth, Oxford / New York: Clarendon Press / Oxford University Press, 1989.

⁷³ John Robinson (1650-1723) is known for his long-term diplomatic activity in Stockholm, here he was the chaplain of the British ambassador (1680-1709), as well as his bishop tenure in Bristol (1710-1714) and London (1714-1723). In 1717-1718 he also attempted a religious union between the British Anglicans and the Swedish Lutherans, a project which failed due to Scandinavians' preconceptions on Anglican calvinism. For details on his life and activity, see: *The Lord Bishop of London's Letter to His Clergy defended. Wherein the Constant Worship of Son and Holy Spirit, with the Father, during the first ages, is set forth, and the Antiquity of the Doxology us'd by the Church of England asserted*, by a believer [Thomas Mangey], London: printed for W. & J. Innys, 1719; *A Defense of the Ld Bishop of London, in Answer to Mr. Whiston's Letter of Thanks to His Lordship. Address'd to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. To which is added a Vindication of the Reverend Dr. Sacheverell's late endeavour to turn Mr. Whiston out of His Church. Wherein Mr. Whiston's Account of that Proceeding is consider'd*, London: printed for J. Roberts, 1719; *A Letter from the Lord Bishop of London, to the Incumbents of All Churches and Chappels in His Diocess, concerning Their not using any New Form of Doxology, and the Reading the Common-Prayer at least once a Month*, Dublin: printed by Elizabeth Sadlier, 1722; Hilding Pleijel, *Svensk Lutherdom: Studier i luthersk fromhet och Svensk Folkkultur*, Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1944, 77-92; June Milne, "The Diplomacy of Dr. John Robinson at the Court of Charles XII of Sweden, 1697-1709," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series, 30 (1948), 75-93; Ragnhild M. Hatton, "John Robinson an the Account of Sueden," *Historical Research* 28 (1955), 78, 128-159; *John Robinson's Account of Sweden, 1688: the original 1688 manuscript, edited and collated with the 1693 manuscript and the published editions from 1694*, with an Introduction by John B. Hattendorf, Stockholm: Karolinska Förbundet, 1998. Placing the arrival of the embassy in London as early as the summer of 1713, three of the authors addressing this issue indicate the bishop of London, Henry Compton (1675-1713), as one of the supporters of the Alexandrian delegates' cause: Παπαδόπουλος, "Δοσίθεος Πατριάρχης 'Ιεροσολύμων" cit., 158 [information subsequently reiterated in the following: Id., "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 (1911), 121; Chrysostom of Athens, "An Unpublished Correspondence" cit., 2; Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London* cit., 9; Langford, "The Non-Jurors" cit., 119.

worse, the delegation members were most likely taken for Roman-Catholic spies, a rumour invented and spread by the Jesuits.⁷⁴ Finally, although this was probably not a widely accepted opinion, Dr. John Covell warned Humphrey Wanley, the friend of the Eastern delegates, about the possible mean interests of metropolitan Arsenios:

They struggle, there at Alexandria, for the Patriarchship as they did in my time at Constantinople. The Visier (or the Turck) put it to auction and the fairest bidder take it and after that an new bidder trips up the present incumbent's heels; but it is not unlikely that Thebais comes with this fair pretence, not to restore the true elected Samuel, but to intrude himself, or put what he can get in his pocket.⁷⁵

However, proving that metropolitan Arsenios did face such charges, either during the respective years or later, he exonerated himself in a letter addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras, dated September 20, 1724:

Also, some might believe that I have gathered a fortune from the English affair. Your Beatitude, I say this much before God: may you anathematize me, if in this English matter I have received either gifts or money, or I have been promised anything. Indeed, I have spent around 300 groschen [*kuruş*, silver coin in circulation since late 17th century throughout the Ottoman Empire, worth approximately one Spanish dollar or French *écu*] on this matter, believing the union to Orthodoxy should be established. [...] God knows how deprived I am, while people think I have collected a fortune.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The only author mentioning these accusations is Steven Runciman (*The Great Church in Captivity* cit., 311; "The British Non-Jurors and the Russian Church" cit., 156), indicating as his main source an unpublished document found in the archives of the Russian Church in London (*Records of the Russian Church in London*). He also mentions the discussion of December 1714, in bishop Robinson's residence, when several prominent figures of the Church of England discussed *with or about them* (the delegation members). Further evidence is possibly the fact that shortly after the delegation's arrival in London, metropolitan Arsenios sent two letters to Cairo, on July 19, 1714 (one of them addressed to patriarch Samuel, and the other to the clergy of the Patriarchate of Alexandria), requiring two new recommendations for *his friends*. The Patriarchate's clergy sent to London, in February 1715, a new recommendation from Consul William Farrington of Cairo: *Lachrimae et Suspiria* cit., 13, 16.

⁷⁵ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., LX. This idea was used also by Judith Pinnington: *Anglicans and Orthodox. Unity and Subversion, 1559-1725*, Leominster: Gracewing, 2003, 158.

⁷⁶ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος 7 (1911), 223: "Ἴσως καὶ θαρριῦν μερικοὶ πῶς ἀπὸ ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς Ἐνγκλητέρας νὰ ἐμάζωξα θησαυρούς. Τόσον σὰς λέγω, Μακαριώτατε Δέσποτα, ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ, τὴν κατάραν σὰς νὰ ἔχω ἀνίσως ἐγὼ καὶ ἡξεύρω ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς Ἐνγκλητέρας ἢ κανένα χάρισμα ἢ ἄσπρα ἢ νὰ μοῦ ἔταξω τίποτες. Μάλιστα ἔχω ἀπὸ λόγου μοῦ ἕως τριακόσια γρόσια ἐξοδιασμένα δι' αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, θαρρόντας νὰ γένη καμία ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐνώσεως τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας. [...] Ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ἡξεύρει εἰς σὲ τί στενοχωρία εὐρίσκομαι καὶ ὁ κόσμος μὲ βαστᾷ νὰ ἔχω θησαυρούς."

Humphrey Wanley briefly describes the overall context in a letter addressed to John Covel on December 21, 1714:

[...] the Bishop of London, who is much harassed about them, and cannot as yet get them to accept the £ 200 given by our late pious Queen for their Departure. His Lordship had them to Dinner last Saturday, and was pleased to have at that time some conference with me and others, with or concerning them. The Result is, the men (although we have reasons sufficient to persuade and satisfy us that they are True and Honest Men) must quickly be gone; we are against a brief, or any General Collection for them; and we do not like that the Universities should be pestered with them. The poor Archbishop cried out like a child, when my Lord of London told him he must Depart.⁷⁷

On the other hand, the opinion held by the Orthodox on the society they came in touch with in Great Britain was voiced by the same metropolitan Arsenios in a letter dated February 1728, addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras:

While I was in England, many people would come to me, asking to be received in the Orthodox Church. I had to turn them down, because we did not have a church. I did, however, receive some converts to Orthodoxy, all of them secretly. But I celebrated [the Liturgy] unobstructedly and openly before many Englishmen, and every Sunday and feast day many Englishmen and women and some of their clergy would come to the church. Indeed, two or three lords of the Parliament, friends of mine, asked me whether I would like them to build me a Byzantine church. [...] Our faith is free in Britain; whoever wishes may attend our preachings. Only the Latins are under interdict. Indeed, during the three years I spent in England, both I and my people would wear our vestments, and officials and clergy alike showed great respect to us.⁷⁸

The fragmentary information currently available allows a partial reconstruction of the Alexandrian delegation's activity in Great Britain in

⁷⁷ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., LX-LXI.

⁷⁸ Παπαδόπουλος, "Αλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 7 (1911), 224-225: "[...] ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὅπου ἦμουν εἰς τὴν Ἑνγκλητέρα πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τὸν λαὸν ἦλθαν εἰς τοῦ λόγου μου, διὰ νὰ τοὺς κάμω συγκοινωνοὺς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας. Ὅμως τοὺς ἀπόβαλα, καὶ αὐτὸ μὴν ἔχοντας Ἐκκλησίαν. Ὅμως μὲ ὅλον τοῦτον ἐδέχθηκα μερικὰ προσώπατα εἰς τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν, καὶ ὅλοι κρυφά. Μόνον φανερά κατέμπροσθεν καὶ εἰς πολλοὺς ἐγκλέζους ἐπειδὴ κάθε Κυριακὴ καὶ κάθε ἑορτὴ ἔρχονταν πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐγκλέζους, καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Καὶ ἐλειτούργουσαμεν φανερά χωρὶς κανένα φόβον. Μάλιστα μοῦ εἶπαν δύο τρεῖς ἄρχοντες τῆς Συγκλήτου ὅπου ἦταν φίλοι μου πῶς ἂν θέλω νὰ μοῦ κτίσουν Ἐκκλησίαν ρωμαϊκὴν. [...] Εἰς τὴν Ἑνγκλητέρα διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν τὴν ἐδικήν μας εἶνε ἐλευθερία ὅποιος θέλει νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ εἰς τοῦ λόγου μας, μόνον εἰς τοὺς Λατίνους εἶνε ἐμπόδιον. Μάλιστα εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους ὅπου ἔζησα εἰς τὴν Ἑνγκλητέρα πάντοτε ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποί μου μὲ τὸ σχῆμά μας ἐπερπατούσαμεν, καὶ μᾶς εἶχαν εἰς μεγάλην εὐνοίαν τὸσον οἱ ἄρχοντες τὸσον καὶ οἱ Ἐκκλησιαστικοί."

1714-1717. Thus, shortly after their arrival in London, on July 29, 1714, most likely prompted by the suspicions directed against them as alleged Roman-Catholic spies, metropolitan Arsenios sent two letters to Cairo (the former to patriarch Samuel, and the latter to the clergy of the Patriarchate of Alexandria), requesting new recommendations to be promptly sent by the British Consul of Cairo, William Farrington, as well as two nominal recommendations for two of the delegation members (whose names are, regrettably, unknown). The certificate released by the British Consul (dated February 8, 1715) pointed out that

the Fathers of the said Church, have, on all Occasions, as well here as at Alexandria, been ready to Officiate at the Burial of any Person of the British Nation; as also to Receive into their Convent at Alexandria, and take Care of any Person Infected with the Plague; give Bills of Health, when desired, to any British Ship bound for Christendom; and afford what other Assistance has been required of them.⁷⁹

In the letter drawn up by the Alexandrian clergy on behalf of patriarch Samuel — who was at the time visiting Constantinople — and dated February 20, 1715, metropolitan Arsenios was announced that

the most Reverend Cosmo, has renounced all Title and Pretence to the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria, by Ecclesiastical Deeds, Signed with his own Hand, (as of Right belonging to Samuel) and a short Time after his Renunciation, he was duly Elected Patriarch of Constantinople.⁸⁰

However, even though the situation of the Alexandrian *thronos* had been settled, the debts previously accumulated had to be repaid, and so the mission of the delegation to London maintained its aims.

This set of documents dispatched from Cairo on February 10, 1715 must have reached London before the end of the summer, because on August 18, 1715 metropolitan Arsenios printed a small *dossier*,⁸¹ including the English-language versions of the letter written by patriarch Samuel (February 25, 1712), the first recommendations provided by the British Consuls of Cairo and Alexandria (February 22 and August 15, 1712, respectively), the recommendation given by the Dutch Consul of Tunis (October 4/15, 1712), the certificate issued by the British Consul of Cairo (February 8, 1714/5), a few

⁷⁹ *Lachrimae et Suspiria* cit., 13.

⁸⁰ *Id.*, 16.

⁸¹ The title of this dossier reporting the situation of the delegation sent by the Patriarchate of Alexandria to Northern Europe is: *Lachrimae et Suspiria* cit., 1715. Subsequently, a Greek translation was also published: Γερμανός, "Οικονομική καχεξία τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀρχομένου τοῦ ΙΗ' αἰῶνος," *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 31 (1932), 563-579.

excerpts from the letter of the Alexandrian clergy (February 20, 1715), accompanied by “a humble” personal “request.” In this document, addressed to “the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry and Commons, Citizens or Strangers in the Kingdom of England, whose Hearts God hath touched with Divine Love and Charity,” metropolitan Arsenios presented the difficult circumstances of the entire delegation:

for we have, by our long involuntary Stay here, and the Disappointments we have met with, been obliged, for our necessary Subsistence, on the most ordinary Food, (being Nine in Family) to Contract Debts on the Credit of what we expected to receive. But the Posture of Publick Affaires, since our Arrival here, has been a Hinderance to our obtaining that Relief, which (from the liberal Bounty of this Charitable Nation to other oppressed Churches) we might otherwise hope to have received in a Way suitable to our Condition, which is now rendred more Miserable and Afflicted, by being so far from Home, and not only deprived of all Hopes of a Publick Supply for our Distressed Church in Aegypt, but so very Poor, that we have not wherewith to pay our Debts here, or carry us out of the Country. We therefore humbly Intreat and Implore, in the Name of Christ, [...], to enable us, before the Winter comes on, to return to our Native Country, where we shall ever Pray, That God will Establish the Blessings of Tranquility, Peace and Happiness, on this Nation.⁸²

Whatever the material hardships they met during their stay in Great Britain, in December 1714, the Eastern delegates were asked by Dr. John Covel, through Humphrey Wanley, to make a statement on the doctrine of transsubstantiation.⁸³ Thus, in a letter dated December 13, 1714, Dr. Covel required the reputed antiquarian to inquire about this:

⁸² *Lachrimae et Suspiria* cit., 3-5.

⁸³ Anglicans' interest in the understanding of the Holy Eucharist was generated by the controversies between the Calvinist pastor Jean Claude and the Catholic theologians of *Port-Royal School* (Pierre Nicole and Antoine Arnauld), during the second half of 17th century. As for the Nonjurors' view on *Eucharistic transsubstantiation*, they embraced a doctrine that sought to dissociate them from both the Roman-Catholics, and the Protestant influences. Thus, one of the best-known Nonjuror theologians, Thomas Brett (1667-1743), engaged in the dialogue with the Orthodox Church, offered the following explanation: “I do not believe the Bread and Wine to be annihilated, and the Substance of them, the Accidents remaining, to be changed into the natural Body and Blood of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered on the Cross, and is now in Heaven, which is the Doctrine of the Church of Rome. Neither do I believe with the Lutherans, that the Substance of the Bread and Wine remaining, the very individual Body and Blood of Christ is by a certain Ubiquity so united and incorporated with them, as to be eaten and drunk by the Faithful in the Lord's Supper. Neither do I believe with the Calvinists, that the Body and Blood of Christ, which are now in Heaven, are Sacramentally, or in an inconceivable Manner, united to the Bread and Wine, so as to be received together with them by the Faith of the Communicants. But I do believe the Bread and Wine to be the only Body and Blood appointed to be received in the Holy Eucharist. And I believe them to be made his Sacramental Flesh and Blood, that is, the full and perfect Representa-

I long to know whether ever you tryed Arsenius your Metropolit of Thebais and his associate Gennadius about their Belief of μετουσίωσις, Transsubstantiation. I make no great doubt, but that for reward they would both declare directly against it, as Philippopoli did when lately here with me. I would heartily desire that you would get something under their hands, whether for it or against it.⁸⁴ H. Wanley's answer of December 21, 1714, provided the key to Dr. Covell's dogmatic dilemma: On Monday, I got the following confession from them, craftily worded. I told them I believe it was taken from some book I had heretofore read: They replied it is taken from the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysostome. I told them roundly, the Question was not, about what Chrysostome or Basil believed but about what They themselves Believed; They Answered, They believe as those Saints did. I would have had them to declare against the μετουσίωσις in their certificate; They said they would not meddle with what did not belong to them, &c. I am therefore forced to content myself with wt you see in the margin, which is a faithful copie of the badly spelt and badly accented original, which I keep by me.⁸⁵

Despite the difficult financial situation and the possible errors in drawing up their brief confession of faith, metropolitan Arsenios and archimandrite Gennadios kept and professed the Orthodox belief:

On the Holy Eucharist of Sacred Body and Blood of Christ. Under the species of bread and wine, wherein He is truly and fully present, that is Jesus Christ in fact, and apparently is bread and wine. Behold, the Body and Blood of Christ according to the Spirit. So it is.⁸⁶

Most likely, Dr. John Covell had the opportunity to personally meet at least metropolitan Arsenios, for the same Humphrey Wanley, in a letter addressed to Dr. Tudway, and dated December 24, 1715, announced the impending arrival of the Eastern delegate: "The Greek Metropolit of Thebais will come to Cambridge soon after Twelf-day on purpose to collect your Charities: pray acquaint the Master [Dr. John Covell] of this."⁸⁷ The donations collected at Cambridge, which H. Wanley mentioned, must have been the result of the "humble request" published by the Greek metropolitan in late summer that year.

tive of his Body and Blood, his very Body and Blood in Power and Effect." (Thomas Brett, *A Collection of the Principal Liturgies, used by the Christian Church in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist*, London: printed for Richard King, 1720, 169). For a more detailed discussion on the Nonjuror's position, see: Langford, "The Non-Jurors" cit., 123-125.

⁸⁴ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., LX.

⁸⁵ Id., LXI.

⁸⁶ Id., LXI: "Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Εὐχαριστίας τοῦ τιμίου Σώματος καὶ Αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ὑποκάτω εἰς τὴν θεωρίαν τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου, εἰς τὸ ὅποιον εἶναι ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίως παρῶν, ἡγουν κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Καὶ κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον εἶναι ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, εἰ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα Σῶμα καὶ Αἷμα Χριστοῦ. Οὕτως ἔχει."

⁸⁷ Id., XXIX.

However, metropolitan Arsenios' undertaking in London was not confined to raising the funds needed by the Patriarchate of Alexandria to settle the debts to its creditors, but, as he himself stated in two letters addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras (September 1724 and February 1728, respectively), he also attempted to build a church for the Orthodox community:

This was my goal, and with this intention I went to this land [England], wishing to build there a church. I failed because everything went wrong. [...] my only thought was to build and complete a church, as while I was in England, many people would come to me, asking to be received in the Orthodox Church. I had to turn them down, because we did not have a church. [...] But I celebrated [the Liturgy] unobstructedly and openly before many Englishmen, and every Sunday and feast day many Englishmen and women and some of their clergy would come to the church. Indeed, two or three lords of the Parliament, friends of mine, asked me whether I would like them to build me a Byzantine church. [...] This is why I wished that an Orthodox church should be in that country.⁸⁸

The generous intention of the metropolitan of Thebais probably concerned the Greek community of London for which the archbishop of Samos and Ikaria, Joseph Georgirenes, had built the first Orthodox worship place in London, between 1677-1680. As this church could not be reclaimed, and the funds collected by metropolitan Arsenios in Britain could hardly cover the cost of living for the entire delegation, he understandably turned to Czar Peter the Great for support. The visit to London undertaken in the summer of 1716 by the former Russian ambassador to Great Britain, prince Boris Ivanovich Kurakin (1676-1727), and his meeting with the metropolitan of Thebais, offered the Greek prelate the opportunity to address Moscow and Sankt Petersburg. Learning of the project of a new church, where the service was to be celebrated in English, Greek and Russian, while the church itself was to be placed under Russian jurisdiction, prince Kurakin advised metropolitan Arsenios to go to Holland, and there meet Czar Peter the Great. The Czar agreed with this idea, and promised to

⁸⁸ Παπαδόπουλος, "Αλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 (1911), 223-225: "Αὐτὴ ἦταν ἡ γνώμη μου καὶ μὲ αὐτὴν τὴν γνώμην ἦλθα καὶ εἰς σὲ τοῦτα τὰ μέρη θαρρόντας νὰ κάμω Ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη. Ὅμως οὔτε αὐτὸ δὲν τὸ ἀπόλαυσα ἐπειδὴ τὰ πάντα παρῆλθαν. [...] μόνον ἡ γνώμη μου ἦταν διὰ νὰ τελειωθῇ καὶ νὰ θεμελιωθῇ καμία ἐκκλησία, ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὅπου ἦμουν εἰς τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τὸν λαὸν ἦλθαν εἰς τοῦ λόγου μου, διὰ νὰ τοὺς κάμω συγκοινωνοὺς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας. Ὅμως τοὺς ἀπόβαλα, καὶ αὐτὸ μὴν ἔχοντας Ἐκκλησίαν. [...] Μόνον φανερά κατέμπροσθεν καὶ εἰς πολλοὺς ἐγκλέζους ἐπειδὴ κάθε Κυριακὴ καὶ κάθε ἑορτὴ ἔρχονταν πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐγκλέζους, καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Καὶ ἐλειτούργουσαμεν φανερά χωρὶς κανένα φόβον. Μάλιστα μου εἶπαν δύο τρεῖς ἄρχοντες τῆς Συγκλήτου ὅπου ἦταν φίλοι μου πῶς ἂν θέλω νὰ μου κτίσουν ἐκκλησίαν ρωμαϊκὴ. [...] Διὰ ταῦτα ἀγαποῦσα νὰ γένη μία ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη."

provide the necessary funds to build an Orthodox worship place in London. He also invited the metropolitan to visit Russia, while one of his collaborators, archimandrite Gennadios, was sent back to London in order to serve this community, and promised a 500-ruble salary.⁸⁹ The construction of this Orthodox church began during the tenure of the Russian ambassador Fedor Pavlovich Veselovskii (1717-1720), and by April 1721 religious services were already celebrated in the new church. The *Register of births, marriages and burials*, transcribed in 1760 after the worn-out original by chaplain Stephen Ivanowsky had the following Greek title: *In the time of the reverend archimandrite Gennadios and the venerable monk Bartholomeos Cassanos, former [celebrants] of our Holy Greek-Russian Church of London*. The Russian-language annotation added to the title mentioned the dates when the two had passed away: February 3, 1737 and June 23, 1746, respectively; both were buried in the yard of Saint Pancras' church, a burial ground dedicated to the foreign residents of London.⁹⁰ As far as the location of this church is concerned, there is a single mid-18th century mention of a *Greek church* in *York Building, Adelphi*, most likely merely a room in one of the buildings in the area.⁹¹

The two Greek clergymen probably served this mixed Russian-Greek community until the end of their lives, even though after 1731, when the Russian Empire's diplomatic representation to London became permanent, this church was considered to be the embassy chapel. The presence of archimandrite Gennadios in London, as long as the correspondence between Nonjuror theologians and the Eastern Church was maintained, is confirmed by several epistles.⁹² The first one, of October 1717, was the

⁸⁹ Detailed information concerning the encounter of czar Peter the Great and metropolitan Arsenios in Holland, occurred in 1717, is provided by: *Краткая Церковная Летопись, составленная по хранящимся архивным данным и черновым записям, оставленным бывшим настоятелем о. Иоанном Лелюхиным* [*A brief ecclesiastical chronicle, compiled from archive material and notes belonging to the former rector, Fr John Leliukhin*], from which Igor Vinogradoff offered an excerpt to Steven Runciman in January 1966. See: Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* cit., 299-300; Id., "The British Non-Jurors and the Russian Church" cit., 157. Subsequently, when access to Runciman's archive was allowed, more comprehensive information was presented by Ann Shukman: "The Non-Jurors, Peter the Great and the Eastern Patriarchs," in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 188, 190-191.

⁹⁰ Dowling, Fletcher, *Hellenism in England* cit., 50-51. This information was subsequently reiterated by Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London* cit., 14.

⁹¹ Dowling, Fletcher, *Hellenism in England* cit., 50-51.

⁹² Beside the examples indicated above, the presence of archimandrite Gennadios in London, his relationship with the Nonjuror theologians and the Church and State authorities of Russia, as well as his engagement in the dialogue between this schismatic faction and the Eastern Church, were also mentioned in other letters: May 30, 1722 (Nonjuror theologians to the Most Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church); December 9, 1722 (metropolitan Arsenios to the Nonjuror theologians); January 28, 1723 (Nonjuror theologians to

acknowledgement letter addressed to Czar Peter the Great, by which Nonjuror theologians pointed out that

the Archimandrite [Gennadios], who attended the Archbishop of Thebais at London, acquaints us, that your Majesty is pleased to encourage the proposal of union between the Greek and Britannic Churches, [...].⁹³

Then, the exchange of letters between the Nonjurors and metropolitan Arsenios, respectively the chancellor of Russia, count Golovkin, in May 1722 mentioned him twice:

The reverend archimandrite [Gennadios], who is here, is very benevolent towards us; his goodwilled, charitable nature is well-known to us and very favorable to this matter. [...] My Lord, as to the Archimandrite, we are entirely satisfied with his Conduct and good Intentions, and hope he will still reside with us for the carrying on what he has so worthily hitherto engaged in.⁹⁴

Also, in the epistle of September 1724, addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras, metropolitan Arsenios mentioned again the presence of the Greek clergyman in London: "On the fourteenth this month I received a letter from England, from the archimandrite [Gennadios] who is there; the letter is dated 14 August 1724 [...]."⁹⁵ Regarding the second celebrant of the mixed Orthodox community in the city of London, the correspondence between the Nonjurors and the Most Holy Governing Synod of Russia (1724-1725), describes Bartholomeos Cassanos, the nephew of archimandrite Gennadios, as one of the close friends of metropolitan Arsenios, mastering the Russian language, sent as an envoy to Sankt Petersburg between April-September 1725.⁹⁶ He had also accompanied *protosyncellos* James from London to Sankt Petersburg, between June-September 1722.⁹⁷ Thus, beside

metropolitan Arsenios); August 25, 1723 (metropolitan Arsenios to the Nonjuror theologians); June 3, 1724 (Nonjuror theologians to archimandrite Gennadios); and July 13, 1724 (three epistles sent from London by the Nonjuror theologians, and addressed to metropolitan Arsenios, the Governing Synod and the great chancellor of Russia, respectively).

⁹³ Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 318.

⁹⁴ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 104, 106: "Reverendus Archimandrita [Gennadios] hic commorans nobis est gratissimus: Indolem ejus charitatem spirantem probe perspectam habemus, et huic negotio amicissimam."

⁹⁵ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 (1911), 222: "Τῇ δεκάτῃ τετάρτῃ τοῦ παρόντος μοῦ ἦλθε γράμμα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα ἀπὸ τὸν ἀρχιμανδρίτην ὅπου εὐρίσκεται ἐκεῖ γεγραμμένο τὸ γράμμα αὐγούστου 14, 1724 [...]."

⁹⁶ See: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 122-123, 125-132.

⁹⁷ See the epistle sent to the Nonjuror theologians by *protosyncellos* James from Sankt Petersburg on September 20, 1722: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 107-108.

shared doctrine, the fact that one of the two celebrants spoke Russian fluently consolidated this mixed Orthodox community in diaspora.

Dialogue beginnings and the part of Czar Peter the Great (1716-1721)

The last major event involving metropolitan Arsenios of Thebais in London occurred in the summer of 1716, when he was contacted by the Nonjuror bishop Archibald Campbell, who asked him to intermediate a dialogue between the Nonjurors' faction and the Orthodox Church, with the avowed purpose of an ecclesiastical union. A brief description of these first contacts was provided, on March 30, 1728, by the Nonjuror bishop Thomas Brett, as a preamble to the dossier of the entire correspondence:

In the month of July 1716, the Bishops called Nonjurors meeting about some affaires relating to their little Church, Mr. Campbell took occasion to speak of the Archbishop of Thebais then in London; and proposed that we should endeavour a union with the Greek Church, and draw up some propositions in order thereto, and deliver them to that Archbishop, with whom he intimated, as if he had already had some discourse upon that subject. I was then a perfect stranger to the doctrines and forms of worship of that Church, but as I wished most heartily for a general union of all Christians in one communion, I was ready to have joined with Mr. Campbell on this occasion. But Mr. Lawrence being in the room, drew me aside, and told me, that the Greeks were more corrupt and more bigoted than the Romanists, and therefore vehemently pressed me not to be concerned in the affair: but Mr. Collier, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Spinkes joined in it, and drew up proposals, which Mr. Spinkes (as Mr. Campbell informed me) put into Greek, and they went together and delivered them to the Archbishop of Thebais, who carried them to Muscovy, and engaged the Czar in the affair, and they were encouraged to write to his majesty on that occasion, who heartily espoused the matter, and sent the proposals by James, Proto-Cyncellus to the Patriarch of Alexandria, to be communicated to the four Eastern Patriarchs. Before the return of the Patriarch's answer to the proposals, a breach of communion happened among the Nonjurors here, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Spinkes, and Mr. Gandy on the one side, and Mr. Collier, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Gadderer, and myself on the other. So that when the Patriarch's answer came to London, in 1722, Mr. Spinkes refused to be any further concerned in the affair, and Mr. Gadderer and I joined in it. After Mr. Gadderer went to Scotland, Mr. Griffin, being consulted, joined with us. The rest of the story relating to this matter may be gathered from the letters and the subscriptions to them. Mr. Collier subscribes Jeremias, Mr. Campbell Archibaldus, Mr. Gadderer Jacobus, and I, Thomas.⁹⁸

The suggestion put forth by bishop Campbell upon the Nonjurors' meet-

⁹⁸ Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 310-311.

ing of July 1716,⁹⁹ even though it failed to enjoy unanimous support, was put into practice very promptly: by August 18, 1716 their *proposals* had been discussed, sanctioned, translated and signed. Thus, the original text, drafted in English most likely by bishop Jeremy Collier himself (or by Dr. Francis Lee),¹⁰⁰ was debated in the mansion house of bishop Samuel Hawes, and signed by the Nonjuror bishops, in order: Jeremy Collier, Archibald Campbell and James Gadderer.¹⁰¹ The text was also translated into Latin by Dr. Francis Lee, and into Greek by bishop Nathaniel Spinkes, assisted by the Scottish theologian Thomas Rattray of Craighall.¹⁰²

This document¹⁰³ was divided into three parts, containing 12 propos-

⁹⁹ Henry R. Sefton ("The Scottish Bishops and Archbishop Arsenius" cit., 242), based on the correspondence maintained by the Nonjuror bishops Archibald Campbell, Nathaniel Spinkes and Alexander Rose, in the second half of July 1716, ascertained a likely date of this meeting: July 23, 1716.

¹⁰⁰ Petit ("Entre Anglicans et Orthodoxes" cit., 55, 322) deemed the Scottish bishop Archibald Campbell to be the author of this first working version, relying only on the argument that it had been him who initiated the *affair*. However, this draft belonged much more likely to bishop Jeremy Collier, one of the best theologians among the Nonjurors (alongside bishop Thomas Brett): Overton, *The Nonjurors* cit., 127; Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox* cit., 159. This second hypothesis was first put forth by John Dowden ("Notes on the Original Documents containing, or relating to, the Proposals of the Nonjuring Bishops for a *Concordate* with the Holy Orthodox Church of the East, 1716-1725," JTS 1 [1900], 4, 564), who had found the information in a catalogue then part of the *Jolly Kist* collection of the library of the Episcopal Theological College in Edinburgh (currently held by the *National Archive of Scotland*).

¹⁰¹ The fact that one of the leading Nonjurors, bishop Nathaniel Spinkes, did not sign this document may be interpreted in the light of subsequent events within this faction, which resulted in a split among Nonjurors. Thus, the three bishops signing it supported the adoption of St. James' Liturgy, while Nathaniel Spinkes was much more in favor of *The Book of Common Prayer*. See: Sefton, "The Scottish Bishops and Archbishop Arsenius" cit., 242; Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox* cit., 173. We also note the participation of the Scottish bishops in this matter, as two out of the three persons signing the document (bishops Campbell and Gadderer) originated from the North of the British isle. However, the matter was essentially English, and the notion that the Nonjuror bishop of Edinburgh, Alexander Rose, knew the details concerning this correspondence was based on an erroneous interpretation (the hypothesis was originally put forth by H. Sefton, and was later reiterated by J. Pinnington): Knight, "*Had the Czar not died*" cit., 29, n. 3.

¹⁰² The fact that the future *primus* of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, Thomas Rattray, was one of the two translators of this document into Greek is mentioned in a paragraph inserted at the end of the *dossier* recording this correspondence, compiled by bishop Thomas Brett and kept among the manuscripts collected by bishop Alexander Jolly (currently held by the *National Archive of Scotland* in Edinburgh): Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 358. This information was subsequently reiterated in: Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* cit., 312; Sefton, "The Scottish Bishops and Archbishop Arsenius" cit., 241; Shukman: "The Non-Jurors" cit., 181, n. 12.

¹⁰³ The original English-language version was published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 311-318; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 4-11. The text was later translated into Russian as well: Порфирий [Успенский], *Восток христианский. Александрийская патриархия. Сборник материалов, исследований и записок, относящихся до истории*

als, 12 points of doctrinal agreement between the dialogue partners, and 5 points of dogmatic dissent, which were to be discussed or be granted exemption by the Orthodox patriarchs.

The first part opened with a surprising proposal, centered on the notion of returning to the Church of the Apostolic times, that the Patriarchate of Jerusalem should be acknowledged "a principality of Order" over all the other local Churches. On the one hand, this alteration of the normal order of the Church, established as early as the time of the Ecumenic Councils, evinced complete ignorance of the importance granted to this matter by the Eastern Church, and on the other hand, it also reveals a deep identity crisis undergone by this schismatic group. According to the Nonjuror theologians, the other sees were going to maintain their "ancient canonical rights, privileges, and pre-eminences," and the holder of the Constantinople *thronos* was to maintain his equal position with the bishop of Rome. As an indication of the Nonjurors' search for identity, they requested to be acknowledged by their dialogue partners "as a part of the Catholick Church in communion with the Apostles, with the holy Fathers of those Councils, and with their Successors."¹⁰⁴ Their commitment to restore the "ancient godly discipline of the Church" must be understood in the context of the comprehensive liturgical reform and revision involving the Nonjurors at the time. This hypothesis is confirmed by the successive proposals concerning the uniformization of worship practices, and the reintroduction of the oldest version of Holy Liturgy in English language. The task they envisaged, namely to translate "several of the Homilies of St [John] Chrysostom, and other approved Fathers," to be read in churches, demonstrated the Nonjurors' openness towards regaining and rediscovering the richness of patristic exegesis. Finally, they envisaged mutual prayers of those joining this ecclesial communion, as well as proclaiming it through official letters.

However, in order for these proposals to be accepted, and the resulting communion to be strengthened, the document's authors highlighted the necessity of doctrinal agreement, which could be summed up in another 12 points: the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, with no addition; the co-essentiality of the third Person in the Holy Trinity with the Father and the Son; the Holy Spirit's procession from the Father, as sole source, through the Son; assistance granted to the Church by the Holy Spirit, during the Ecumenical Councils; the number and nature of Holy Spirit's charismata; Christ is the sole foundation of the Church; the bishops, as Christ's repre-

Александрийской патриархии, т. 1, под ред. Хр. М. Лопарева, Санкт-Петербург: Изд. Императорской Академии Наук, 1898, 353-358. Finally, the Greek-language version, accompanied by a translation into Latin, was published in Mansi XXXVII, 383-394.

¹⁰⁴ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 5.

sentatives, must be completely independent from the lay, temporal authority; through Christ, the Church has the power to direct and lead its faithful towards salvation; Communion under both species for believers; although Baptism and the Holy Eucharist are the only Sacraments deemed as indispensable, all the others must be received and administered too, however having relative efficacy; there is no Purgatory fire in the afterlife, and the intercessions of the living for the dead have no effect.

The third part of the document submitted to the Eastern Church also included five doctrinal points observed by the Orthodox, against which the Nonjurors openly expressed their dissent. The first dogmatic difference concerned the authority of the canons issued by the Ecumenical Councils, or broadly speaking questioned the authority of the Holy Tradition, in contrast with the Holy Scripture. The Nonjurors expressed their reluctance to acknowledge equal worth of both ways of conveying the divine Revelation. They went on to deny the veneration due to the Mother of God, who — in their opinion — could not supplant the Creator by receiving the worship exclusively due to God. The intercession of angels and saints was also questioned, for it allegedly prejudiced Christ's unique intercession with the heavenly Father; thus they could not be invoked as intercessors. The impossibility of expressing the mystery of Eucharistic transsubstantiation, by the invocation and descent of the Holy Spirit unto the bread and wine, led Nonjurors to favor vagueness, "for leaving it indefinite and undetermined; so that every one may freely, [...], receive the same [the Body and Blood of Christ] in faith."¹⁰⁵ The final point at variance with the Orthodox dogmas was icon veneration, which allegedly occasioned "on one hand, scandal to the Jews and Mahometans, or on the other, to many well meaning Christians."¹⁰⁶ In this respect, they asked the representatives of the Eastern Church to explain *in extenso* article 9 of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea, 787).

The desired concord was to be reached through negotiations, "limitations and indulgence on both sides." If, however, ecclesial communion was indeed achieved, the same Nonjurors promised to build a church dedicated to their agreement, somewhere near London, to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Alexandria,¹⁰⁷ celebrating some of the ser-

¹⁰⁵ Id., 10.

¹⁰⁶ Id., 10.

¹⁰⁷ The fact that the first visible result of this ecclesial communion was to be the construction of a church, placed under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria (not of the patriarch of Jerusalem!) is telling proof, on the one hand, that the decisive moment in starting this correspondence was the arrival of metropolitan Arsenios of Thebais and his conversation with the Nonjuror bishop Archibald Campbell in July 1716, and on the other hand, it demonstrates that the interest and wish expressed by the Egypt's hierarch in this discussion, concerning the

vices in English, with the approval of the respective patriarch. They also envisaged the possibility for the Greek bishop in London or his deputies, to celebrate certain services on agreed days in *St Paul Cathedral*. In relation to the proposal for a necessary uniformization of worship practices and ritual, the authors emphasized the importance of accepting a common Liturgy, "compiled out of the ancient Greek Liturgies, some passages and rites only omitted." Finally, all those who would subsequently show their willingness to adhere to this concordat, were to be accepted.

The phrase employed by the authors of this concordat proposal to designate themselves, namely "the orthodox and catholick remnant of the British Churches," indicates their intention to conceal the reality of their schismatic position against the mainstream Church across the Channel. This conclusion is supported by several arguments provided by the correspondence that followed. From 1722 onwards, bishop Jeremy Collier signed all the letters sent to Constantinople or Sankt Petersburg with the title *primus Anglo-Britanniae episcopus* (ὁ Ἀγγλο-Βρεταννίας πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος),¹⁰⁸ which denotes his attempt to usurp the position of the archbishop of Canterbury. Metropolitan Arsenios, in a letter addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras on September 20, 1724, refers to a previous epistle, dispatched shortly after the debut of this theological dialogue, and emphasizes the necessity to keep the negotiations confidential, as disclosing the situation would have caused turmoil in the British society:

You probably remember my letter of 1716, when I sent the protosyncellus to Constantinople, about the British affair, namely that, were a council to be held there, it should be secret so that the commoners as well as the ambassador of England may know nothing of it, in order to avoid any unrest in the Empire. The secret was also kept here [in Russia], so that not even the Council [for Religious Affairs] knows about it to this day. [...] The above-mentioned chaplain wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, and his letter was accompanied by the documents of the British, which were sent with the support of the monarch and our brethren here. [...] And now the people are threatened to be destroyed. [...] Indeed, my Most Holy Lord, if these letters have been sent to England, great trouble will be caused both there and here.¹⁰⁹

existence of an Orthodox church in London, were received favorably. We may thus conclude that, during the last part of metropolitan Arsenios' stay in England, he was mostly interested in constructing an Orthodox church.

¹⁰⁸ Mansi XXXVII, 491-492, 523-524, 579-580, 581-582, 583-584, 585-586, 587-588, 589-590.

¹⁰⁹ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 (1911), 222-223: "Ἄν ἴσως καὶ ἐνθυμεῖστε τὸ γράμμα ὁποῦ σᾶς ἔγραψα εἰς τοὺς 1716 ὅταν ἔστειλα τὸν Πρωτοσύγκελλον αὐτοῦ εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς Ἐνγκλητέρας πῶς ἂν ἴσως καὶ γένη αὐτοῦ Σύνοδος νὰ εἶναι μυστικά νὰ μὴν ἀκουσθῇ εἰς τὸν ἀπλὸν λαόν, οὔτε ὁ Πρέσβυς τῆς Ἐνγκλητέρας

However, the document inaugurating the correspondence between Nonjurors and the Eastern Church contained at least one clear indication of the schism within the Christian community of Britain. Thus, in relation to the lobbying they intended to exert so that authorities allow the Greek bishop in London to celebrate the Liturgy in *St Paul Cathedral*, the authors deemed it possible "if it shall please God to restore the suffering Church of this island and her Bishops to her and their just rights."¹¹⁰ This reservation about their objective, is paralleled by another statement in the epistle of the same Nonjuror theologians, addressed to Czar Peter the Great in October 1717:

Some late practices with regard to Church and State have reduced our Communion to a few; but your Majesty knows truth and right does not depend upon numbers.¹¹¹

By compiling these facts we conclude that very likely, the idea to conceal reality appeared shortly after this document was signed and dispatched, at least concerning their relationship with the four Eastern patriarchs. Their relation to Czar Peter the Great was consolidated precisely due to their dissidence against King George I (1714-1727) and their unconditional support given to Francis Edward (son of the dethroned King James II), known as *the Old Pretender* or James III, pretender to the throne of England, Scotland and Ireland, between 1701-1766. Thus the Eastern patriarchs with whom they maintained correspondence very likely ignored the Nonjurors' dissent from the Church of England, also because of the interests of metropolitan Arsenios, who failed to describe the situation in detail, while in their relationship to Moscow or Sankt Petersburg, at least Czar Peter the Great was aware of the British political-ecclesiastical context.

A note on a separate page found in the dossier of this correspondence, in the *Jolly Kist* collection of the Episcopal Theological College library in Edinburgh (currently held by the *National Archive of Scotland*), mentions the addressees of the document's three versions:

The English of this 1st Proposal was not sent, but only the Gr. to the Patriarchs.

όπου είναι αὐτοῦ νὰ μὴ τὸ μάθῃ διὰ νὰ μὴ τύχῃ καὶ γένη καμία σύγχυσις εἰς τὸ Βασίλειον. Τοιοῦτο-
τρόπως ἦτον καὶ ἐδῶ μυστικὰ ὅπου οὔτε ἡ Σύγκλητος δὲν τὸ ἤξεύρει ἕως τὴν σήμερον. [...] καὶ γράφει
πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς Καντουαρίας συντροφισμένον τὸ γράμμα τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐφημερίου μὲ
ταῖς ἀπόδειξαις τῶν Ἐνγκλέζων ὅπου σὰς ἐστάλθησαν μὲ τὸ μέσον τοῦς ἐνταῦθα ἀδελφούς καὶ Μο-
νάρχου. [...] Καὶ κινδυνεύουν τῶρα νὰ χαλαστοῦν ἀντρώποι. [...] Ὅμως, Δέσποτά μου Μακαριώτατε,
ἀνίσως καὶ ἐστάλθησαν αὐτὰ τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα μεγάλη σύγχυσις θέλει νὰ γένη καὶ
εἰς τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα καὶ εἰς ἐτοῦτα τὰ μέρη."

¹¹⁰ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 11.

¹¹¹ Id., 12.

and the Latin was given to the Abp. of Thebes [*sic*], that he might, if he had an opportunity, communicate it to the Moscovites, when he was there.¹¹²

Obviously, although the original plan presented by bishop Campbell did not envisage involving the Russian Orthodox Church in these union arrangements, between August 1716 – September 1717, Moscow was included among the addressees of the document signed by the Nonjurors.

It is difficult to ascertain the chronology of the above-mentioned period, because the historical sources currently available provide different versions, depending on the momentary interests of their authors. The only certain event is the encounter between the delegation of metropolitan Arsenios of Thebais and Czar Peter the Great in Holland, during the period July-September 1717.

The correspondence maintained by metropolitan Arsenios, the promoter of the entire conversation, both with the Eastern Patriarchates and the Most Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, demonstrates that the Greek-language version of the document was sent to Constantinople through one of the members of his delegation. Thus, in the letter addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras on September 20, 1724, he recounted the events: "You probably remember the letter I wrote to you in 1716, when I sent the protosyncellus [James] to Constantinople, about the British affair [...]"¹¹³ Also, in the letter he sent to the Nonjuror theologians in Sankt Petersburg on August 16, 1721, he confirmed that the answer expected from the Eastern patriarchs would be immediately conveyed through "James the Reverend Patriarchal Protocyncellus, who is the Person that carryed your Questions to the Patriarchs."¹¹⁴ The most interesting piece of information, however, allowing us to ascertain the chronology of events, is provided by a letter addressed to the same patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos Notaras, on January 22, 1722:

For, when the Czar went to Holland, some persons presented the matter to him, and he sent [someone] to enquire whether this was true. I answered that I was expecting a response from the most holy patriarchs.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Dowden, "Notes on the Original Documents" cit., 564.

¹¹³ Παπαδόπουλος, "Αλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 (1911), 222: "Ἄν ἴσως καὶ ἐνθυμεῖστε τὸ γράμμα ὅπου σὰς ἔγραψα εἰς τοὺς 1716 ὅταν ἔστειλα τὸν Πρωτοσύγκελλον αὐτοῦ εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς Ἐνγκλητέρας [...]"

¹¹⁴ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 14.

¹¹⁵ Παπαδόπουλος, "Αλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 (1911), 219: "ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐρχόμενος ὁ βασιλέας εἰς τὴν Ὀλλάντα τοῦ ἐφάνέρωσαν μερικοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ ἐτζη ἔβαλε καὶ μὲ ἐξέταξαν ἀνίνει ἀληθινὴ αὕτη ὑπόθεσις καὶ τοὺς εἶπα πὸς καρτερῶ ἀπόκρισιν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἁγιωτάτους π[ατ]ριάρχας."

In addition to the above-mentioned note belonging to the *Jolly Kist* collection, according to which metropolitan Arsenios was to present the Latin version of the first document in this conversation to the representatives of Moscow (we infer that the Greek-language version was directly sent to the Eastern patriarchs), the brief description of contacts provided by bishop Thomas Brett on March 30, 1728, and held by the same archive in Edinburgh, contains further information:

but Mr. Collier, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Spinkes joined in it, and drew up proposals, which Mr. Spinkes (as Mr. Campbell informed me) put into Greek, and they went together and delivered them to the Archbishop of Thebais, who carried them to Muscovy, and engaged the Czar in the affair, and they were encouraged to write to his majesty on that occasion, who heartily espoused the matter, and sent the proposals by James, Proto-Cyncellus to the Patriarch of Alexandria, to be communicated to the four Eastern Patriarchs.¹¹⁶

Then, in the acknowledgement letter addressed to Czar Peter the Great on October 8, 1717, the Nonjurors stated:

The Archimandrite, who attended the Archbishop of Thebais at London, acquaints us, that your Majesty is pleased to encourage the proposal of union between the Greek and Britannic Churches, and that your Majesty has graciously offered to send the Articles to the four Eastern Patriarchs.¹¹⁷

Finally, the last relevant piece of information in this matter of chronology is provided by a copy of the same brief description given by bishop Thomas Brett to the events during the respective period, prepared for publication, and held by the manuscript collection of *Bodleian Library* in Oxford (Ms. Eng. th. c. 52, ff. 69 *et seq.*).¹¹⁸ The special relevance of this copy lies in the marginal commentaries made by some readers,¹¹⁹ who recommended

¹¹⁶ Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 310-311.

¹¹⁷ *Id.*, 318.

¹¹⁸ The first scholar to call attention to this manuscript was Christopher Knight: "*Had the Czar not died*" cit., 20-21. Also, see the brief description of the manuscript in: Mary Clapinson, T.D. Rogers, *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford. Acquisitions, 1916-1975* (SC 37300-55936), vol. II (*Catalogue. SC 46394-55936*), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, 723-725 (no. 46563-46587, in special no. 46584). The manuscript has 139 pages containing, in the first part, the description of the domestic controversy of Nonjurors concerning the *usages*, and the second part (ff. 80-136), the entire dossier, translated into English, of the correspondence maintained with the Eastern Church.

¹¹⁹ The four readers who amended bishop Brett's description, all of them Nonjurors, more or less involved in the events described, have been identified as: the wife of bishop Jeremy Collier, priest Roger Lawrence (Laurence), bishop Archibald Campbell and bishop Thomas Deacon. Cf. Knight: "*Had the Czar not died*" cit., 29, n. 9.

to eliminate from the text any mention of the involvement of the Russian Orthodox Church and Czar Peter the Great in this dialogue. Thus, whereas Brett's original text mentioned the Latin and Greek versions of the document, which had been delivered to metropolitan Arsenios, "who carried them to Muscovy, and engaged the Czar in the affair," the first reviewer of this text suggested to replace this sentence with a much cautious one: "kept by him." The accompanying commentary provided the key to this omission, which the reviewer deemed mandatory: "It is not proper (in my Opinion) to mention Muscovy at all. Nor it is safe." A second commentator of this fragment joined this suggestion: "I am of the same Opinion."¹²⁰

Thus, by investigating the information provided by these sources, we may conclude that more likely it was metropolitan Arsenios who opened the dialogue with Czar Peter the Great, although he denies it. As with the text written by bishop Thomas Brett, the entire context of this correspondence sometimes forced those concerned to resort to tendentious acts, by deliberate omission of actual facts. The interests of metropolitan Arsenios in engaging the Czar of Russia in these discussions envisaging church union were manifold. Considering the Greek metropolitan's mission in London, namely to raise the necessary amount of money for the Patriarchate of Alexandria to repay its debts, which by 1716-1717 had failed to obtain the intended results, we may presume that by gaining the Russian Czar's trust this mission could have been facilitated. Then, as stated above, the second purpose of the presence of metropolitan Arsenios in London was to build an Orthodox place of worship here, and the necessary funds could only be offered by the single political leader of an Orthodox state, free from any Ottoman oppression. Also, to a certain extent, the metropolitan of Thebais could expect a decision favorable to ecclesial communion from the patriarchs summoned at Constantinople in a council, possibly obtained through pressure exerted by Moscow / Sankt Petersburg, one of the few unconditional supporters of the Eastern Patriarchates. In such an event, the Greek metropolitan would have been acknowledged as the one who prompted these ecumenical developments in the Orthodox world.

As far as the Nonjuror theologians were concerned, they also had many arguments in favor of an extended union proposals. Politically, as they were known as *Jacobites* (supporting the restoration of the house of Stuart on the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland), closeness to Czar Peter the Great was absolutely natural, as long as the Czar of Russia was perceived not only as a direct opponent of King George I, but also a supporter of the cause of James III, son of the dethroned King James II.¹²¹ Nonjurors could

¹²⁰ Both examples from: Knight: "*Had the Czar not died*" cit., 29, n. 9.

¹²¹ Id., 20.

equally hope for a favorable answer in Church matters, and if the four Eastern patriarchs declined their proposal, at least the Russian Orthodox Church, to a certain extent dependent on Czar Peter I, could have lent the legitimacy sought by these schismatics.

Finally, from the standpoint of the Russian monarch, who was perfectly aware of the situation of his dialogue partners, this provided the opportunity to strengthen the position of the opponents of King George I, not only politically, but also in the religious realm.¹²² Czar Peter the Great was very cognizant of European Christian denominations, as during the *Great Embassy* (1697-1698) to Western Europe, he had come into contact with Calvinists in Holland, Lutherans in Northern Germany, and Roman-Catholics in Vienna. Also, regarding his direct relations to members of the Church of England, he was known to be close to the Anglican bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Gilbert Burnett, with whom he discussed the theological differences between the East and the West.¹²³ Only a few weeks prior to his meeting with metropolitan Arsenios in Holland, before leaving Paris, the Czar of Russia had tackled the issue of an union between Orthodox and Roman-Catholics in discussions with the theologians of Sorbonne, mainly Laurent-François Boursier.¹²⁴ The entire context, favoring the involvement of the Sankt Petersburg monarch in the matter of an ecclesiastical union, was completed by metropolitan Arsenios' project of building an Orthodox church in London, for a mixed, Greek-Russian community. Such opportunity could not be missed, especially since the initiator of this project had probably mentioned the British who would convert to Orthodoxy, and Czar Peter was known for his tendency to interfere in Church affairs.¹²⁵

Once clarified the entire context in which this first document of the correspondence between Nonjuror theologians and the Orthodox Church was dispatched to its addressees, we may reconstruct the chronological order of events. Probably soon after signing the Nonjurors' *proposals* (August 18, 1716), they wanted to engage Czar Peter the Great and the Rus-

¹²² Runciman, "The British Non-Jurors and the Russian Church" cit., 158-159.

¹²³ For details on this friendship, see: H.C. Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury*, with an Introduction by C.H. Firth, Cambridge: University Press, 1907, 348-349; Cracraft, *The Church Reform of the Peter the Great* cit., 28-37; Knight: "Had the Czar not died" cit., 28-29.

¹²⁴ For details on czar Peter's discussions with the theologians of Sorbonne, and the answer of Russian bishops, see: *Histoire et analyse du livre de L'Action de Dieu. Opuscules de M. Boursier relatifs à cet ouvrage. Mémoire du même auteur sur la divinité des Chinois. Relation des démarches faites par les docteurs de Sorbonne pour la réunion de l'Église de Russie. Recueil des pièces qui concernent cette affaire*, tome III, [Paris: s.n.], 1753, 275-528; P. Pierling, *La Sorbonne et la Russie (1717-1747)*, coll. *Bibliothèque Slave Elzévirienne* 3, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1882, 5-57; Cracraft, *The Church Reform of the Peter the Great* cit., 37-49.

¹²⁵ Shukman: "The Non-Jurors" cit., 190-191.

sian Orthodox Church in this project of regaining Church unity, mostly for political reasons.¹²⁶ Some of the Nonjurors, under unknown circumstances, approached the Russian monarch, to present this union scheme, and he required a discussion with metropolitan Arsenios, so that the latter might confirm that negotiations were conducted by the two parties. The metropolitan gladly assumed the part of lead negotiator, mainly because a fruitful encounter with Czar Peter I could have ensured the funds he had to raise for the Patriarchate of Alexandria, also offering him the opportunity to discuss the opportunity to build an Orthodox church in London. Thus, after the arrival of the Russian monarch, in early December 1716 in Amsterdam, metropolitan Arsenios sought the appropriate moment to go to Holland, bringing with him the recommendation given by the Dutch Consul in Tunis, Johan. Hieronymo Waldeck, dated October 4/15, 1712. Accompanied by archimandrite Gennadios (and probably other members of the Alexandrian delegation), whom he introduced as the person in charge of the Greek-Russian community in the capital of Britain, the Greek metropolitan met with Czar Peter the Great in Holland, in July-September 1717. The Czar was presented the Latin version of the document and was interested in the union arrangements, recommending that negotiations should continue and the Russian Orthodox Church should be included. He was also greatly satisfied at the prospects of building an Orthodox church, promised the necessary financial support, as well as a 500-ruble salary for archimandrite Gennadios, as a celebrant of the Orthodox community in London. Metropolitan Arsenios was offered the possibility to accompany the Czar to Russia, both with a view to raising the money needed by the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and to discussing the union scheme with some of the Russian bishops.

Following this promising encounter, the Alexandrian delegation that arrived in London in the summer of 1714 parted their ways. Archimandrite Gennadios returned to London to tend to the spiritual life of the Orthodox community. He also brought to the Nonjurors the good news of the support offered in favor of the union by Czar Peter I.¹²⁷ As far as metropolitan Arsenios was concerned, most likely he went directly to Russia, complying with the Czar's invitation. Finally, given Russian monarch's position as an intercessor between Nonjurors and the Eastern patriarchs (most of the historical sources provided by the Nonjurors present Czar Peter I as the one who "kindly offered to send the articles to the four patriarchs"), the most plausible hypothesis is that sending the document to Constantinople was delayed until the meeting between metropolitan Arsenios and Czar Peter

¹²⁶ Chrysostom of Athens, "An Unpublished Correspondence" cit., 3.

¹²⁷ Petit, "Entre Anglicans et Orthodoxes" cit., 324.

the Great in Holland, in the summer of 1717. After the latter had sanctioned this endeavor, the messenger assigned to convey the union proposals to the Eastern patriarchs, *protosyncellos* James, set out from Holland directly to Constantinople, carrying the Greek version of the document. Towards the end of the same year (1717) he arrived at the residence of the ecumenical patriarch, who summoned a synod in order to debate and prepare an answer to the Nonjurors; this answer was completed and signed in April 1718. This working hypothesis does not only emphasize the contribution of Czar Peter I, as indicated by the Nonjurors' records, but it also has several advantages: first, it fully complies with the diplomatic protocol prescribed for such situations (the messenger usually expected an answer from the addressee);¹²⁸ secondly, metropolitan Arsenios himself pointed out that the

protosyncellos came from Constantinople to Holland, and as he did not find me in Holland, he went to Moscow, taking with him the answers so that the Czar might examine them there.¹²⁹

This route indicated by the Greek hierarch supports the hypothesis that the messenger left for Constantinople from Holland, after his meeting with Czar Peter I, in the summer/fall of 1717, and there he contacted metropolitan Arsenios upon his return from his mission. This information is corroborated by the material provided by the archive of the Russian church in London: *protosyncellos* James, arriving in 1717 to Constantinople, left with the Eastern patriarchs' answer to the proposal put forth by the Nonjurors in October 1718 *via* Smyrna; after a troubled journey (shipwreck, pirate

¹²⁸ Steven Runciman's supposition (*The Great Church in Captivity* cit., 315; "The British Non-Jurors and the Russian Church" cit., 157), subsequently reiterated by Ann Shukman ("The Non-Jurors, Peter the Great and the Eastern Patriarchs," in: Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* cit., 188), namely that in October 1717 *protosyncellos* James was in London, from where he collected the acknowledgement letter addressed to czar Peter I by the Nonjuror theologians, then taking it to Moscow, is unlikely. In this case, the same messenger left London as early as the fall of 1716, reached Constantinople in the spring of 1717, returned to London by October 1717, and from there left for Moscow, then set out again for the Ecumenical Patriarchate in order to collect the answer of Eastern patriarchs. An alternative route could have been the following: *protosyncellos* James supposedly left London for Moscow only in October 1717, carrying both the Nonjurors' letter to the Russian monarch, and a Greek-language version of the document, intended for the Eastern patriarchs; then, from Moscow, with the agreement of czar Peter I, he left immediately for Constantinople, so that the addressees had the necessary time to draw up their answer, by April 1718. Even though each of these two options partially reflects the information provided by sources, both hypotheses are based on fallacious logic and chronology, and it is highly unlikely for events to have occurred this way.

¹²⁹ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 (1911), 218-219: "ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πρωτοσύγγελος ἐρχόμενος ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινουπόλιν εἰστὴν Ὀλλάντα καὶ μὴν εὐρίσκοντας με εἰστὴν Ὀλλάντα, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Μοσχοβίαν φέρνοντας καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεις μαζὶ τοῦ δια νὰ ταῖς ἰδῇ καὶ ὁ βασιλέας ἐδῶ."

attacks) he arrived back in Holland in April 1719, and left in July 1719 for Moscow, in order to present the patriarchs' answers to Czar Peter I, and to meet metropolitan Arsenios as well.¹³⁰

The only important piece of information this chronology does not agree with, is provided by the letters addressed by metropolitan Arsenios to patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras in January 1722 and September 1724, respectively:

For, when the Czar went to Holland, some persons presented the matter to him, and he sent [someone] to enquire whether this was true. I answered that I was expecting a response from the most holy patriarchs;¹³¹ [...] the letter I wrote to you in 1716, when I sent the protosyncellus [James] to Constantinople, about the British affair [...].¹³²

The first explanation for this incongruity lies in the metropolitan's lack of chronological accuracy. As he referred to events occurring 7-8 years before, such error is not unlikely. Secondly, it could be accounted for by the mean interests of the Greek hierarch, who knew he had not obtained the patriarchs' agreement prior to presenting the Nonjurors' *proposals* to Czar Peter the Great, before they were sent to Constantinople, and therefore chose to alter the chronology of facts, so that the Eastern patriarchs appeared to have enjoyed priority in receiving the union scheme. This would indicate deliberate misleading from the part of metropolitan Arsenios, "who as a Greek prelate under Ottoman rule would have been no stranger to political intrigue [...]."¹³³ We note that the Nonjurors also resorted to such misinformation later on, when they attempted to conceal the involvement of the Russian Czar and the Governing Synod.

Having reconstructed the chronology of the events that followed the issuing of the first document, we resume our investigation of this correspondence by tackling the Nonjurors' letter addressed to Czar Peter the Great on October 8, 1717. In this brief text,¹³⁴ written by bishop Jeremy Collier,

¹³⁰ This information is taken from: *Краткая Церковная летопись* cit., excerpt provided by Igor Vinogradoff to Steven Runciman in January 1966, published in: Shukman, "The Non-Jurors" cit., 188, n. 31.

¹³¹ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 (1911), 219: "ἐπηδὴ ἐρχόμενος ὁ βασιλέας εἰς τὴν Ὀλλάντα τοῦ ἐφάνέρωσαν μερικοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ ἐτζη ἔβαλε καὶ μὲ ἐξέταξαν ἀνίναί ἀληθινή αὐτὴ ὑπόθεσις καὶ τοὺς εἶπα πὸς καρτερῶ ἀπόκρισιν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀγιωτάτους π[ατ]ριάρχας."

¹³² Id., 222: "[...] τὸ γράμμα ὁποῦ σὰς ἔγραψα εἰς τοὺς 1716 ὅταν ἔστειλα τὸν Πρωτοσύγκελλον αὐτοῦ εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς Ἐνγκλητέρας [...]."

¹³³ Knight: "Had the Czar not died" cit., 20, 21.

¹³⁴ The English-language original was published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 318-319; *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Non-Jurors*

both in Greek and in its Latin translation, and signed by the same bishops as the previous document (Jeremy Collier, Archibald Campbell and James Gadderer),¹³⁵ the Nonjurors expressed their gratitude to the Russian monarch who, as they learned from archimandrite Gennadios, had encouraged the union scheme and had volunteered to facilitate sending the document to Constantinople.

It is certain that in late 1717, the Nonjuror theologians' *proposals* were delivered to the ecumenical patriarch Jeremias III (1716-1726) by *protosyncellos* James. The broader context in which the union scheme proposed by Nonjurors reached Constantinople was not an extremely favorable one.¹³⁶ On the contrary, after 17th century patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris, the representatives of Eastern Patriarchates were exceedingly reluctant to embracing any idea put forth by the Protestant churches. Moreover, through the Jesuits' crafty actions, the Roman-Catholic Church had regained its prestige in the East, as demonstrates *The Shield of the True Faith* (Ἀσπίς Ὁρθοδοξίας), signed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos II Notaras (1669-1707), and sanctioned by the Council of Jerusalem (1672). Thus, patriarch Jeremias III decided to grant synodical sanction to the document drafted by patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras.¹³⁷

Thus the comprehensive answer of the Eastern patriarchs,¹³⁸ under-

and the Russians), [New York: s.n., 1864], 4; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 12. The Russian translation was subsequently published: Порфирий [Успенский], *Восток христианский. Александрийская патриархия. Сборник материалов, исследований и записок, относящихся до истории Александрийской патриархии*, т. 1, под ред. Хр. М. Лопарева, Санкт-Петербург: Изд. Императорской Академии Наук, 1898, 358-359. Finally, the English version accompanied by its Latin translation, was published in Mansi XXXVII, 393-394.

¹³⁵ Dowden, "Notes on the Original Documents" cit., 564.

¹³⁶ Langford, "The Non-Jurors" cit., 125.

¹³⁷ Although at the end of the English version of this *dossier of correspondence* patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras is explicitly indicated as its author (Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 67), and the excerpt was subsequently included in the critical *dossier* compiled by J.B. Martin and L. Petit (Mansi XXXVII, 454), Judith Pinnington (*Anglicans and Orthodox. Unity and Subversion, 1559-1725*, Leominster: Gracewing, 2003, 174) considers that it was the patriarch of Alexandria, Samuel Kapasoules, who drafted this answer. The main argument supporting this dogma lies in the virulence of the answer concerning real presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, a fragment where the first person singular verbs are used, suggesting a strong emotional reaction. Also, to emphasize patriarch Samuel's motivation, the author mentions his possible conversion to Roman-Catholicism and his politicianist attitude. However, J. Pinnington was probably influenced by the signature and seal of patriarch Samuel at the end of the second appendix, which allegedly suggested he had played a major role in drafting an answer to the Nonjuror theologians. In fact, the signature of Samuel Kapasoules concluding this appendix has no other role than to certify the fidelity to the original of the respective copy. For details concerning the relation of patriarch Samuel with pope Clement XI, see: Hofmann, "Griechische Patriarchen" cit., 79-180.

¹³⁸ The Greek-language original, accompanied by a translation into Latin, made by profes-

signed by Jeremias III of Constantinople, Samuel of Alexandria and Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, was discussed and approved, *after the most mature deliberations*, by the council convened at Constantinople on April 12, 1718.¹³⁹ On the same occasion it was decided to augment the text by adding two appendices: the former was a copy of a synodical document, sent by the patriarch of Constantinople, Dionysios IV, following the request of Dr. John Covell, in January 1672, "to the lovers of the Greek Church in Britain";¹⁴⁰ the latter was a decision by the Synod of the Great Church of Constantinople issued in 1691, on the Holy Eucharist and the term *μετουσίωσις* (Lat. *transubstantiatio*).¹⁴¹

In a slightly patronizing tone, and offering a few stern rebuttals, Eastern patriarchs attempted to provide point-by-point answers to the Nonjurors' teachings presented in the document of August 1716. The first part of the Orthodox *answer* was dedicated to a three-part argumentation pointing out that the Orthodox Church is the only one to have preserved Christ's teachings pure and unadulterated. This sparked a polemic on Latin innovations (the Communion of the believers only with the Holy Body during the Holy Eucharist, the primacy of the pope and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father *and the Son*), as well as their condemnation of Calvinists for their *Confession* published on behalf of patriarch Loukaris. The first five proposals in the text written by Nonjuror Anglicans received a single answer, because they all addressed the change of hierarchical order in the Church. Such innovation was completely unacceptable, for "whatever the change, it would cause dissent rather than bringing about union (ὅλως οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως ἔχον, μάλιστα ἀνθ' ἐνώσεως διάστασιν προξενεῖ)." The example

sor N. Festa, was published in Mansi XXXVII, 395-472. The English translation was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 15-83. The Greek version was later republished in: Καρμύρης, *Τὰ Δογματικά* cit., 788-818 [868-898].

¹³⁹ Contradicting the mentions of the Greek original of this document, Chrysostomos A. Papadopoulos (Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 [1911], 138), later quoted by Ioannis Karmires (Καρμύρης, *Ὁρθοδοξία* cit., 322-323), without indicating any historical source, asserted that this answer had been signed by all four Eastern patriarchs (including Athanasios III of Antioch) and nine other metropolitans [sic!]. This is an obvious error for the Eastern patriarchs' answer of September 1723, where the signature of patriarch Samuel of Alexandria was also missing.

¹⁴⁰ For details on the context in which this synodical document was drafted, see: Παπαδόπουλος, "Δοσίθεος Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων" cit., 113-115; Καρμύρης, *Ὁρθοδοξία* cit., 250.

¹⁴¹ For details on the context in which this synodical document was drafted, see: Παπαδόπουλος, "Δοσίθεος Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων" cit., 137-140; Χρυσόστομος Α. Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἰωάννης Καρυοφύκης," *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 17 (1918), 5-33; Καρμύρης, *Ὁρθοδοξία* cit., 258; Dănuț I. Manu, "Importanța Sinoadelor răsăritene din secolul al XVII-lea pentru unitatea Ortodoxiei," *Ortodoxia* 39 (1987), 4, 67-71.

of the Roman Church, which separated itself from the body of the Church, introducing a number of new teachings, is telling:

He who separates himself like a fifth part of the entire sail, standing by himself like a single small torn-out piece, that one can never complete his journey.¹⁴²

However, if they really wished to manifest their special respect to the see of Jerusalem, “those self-entitled the remnant of the old religious faith in Britain (αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ καλουμένους λείψανα τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως)” might enter the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the holder of the respective see, with all the canonical consequences entailed. The sixth proposal, by which the Nonjurors pledged to restore the old worship tradition of the Church, was interpreted in a completely different way by the Eastern patriarchs.¹⁴³ They considered that the Nonjurors proposed a new type of *education* (παιδεία) and felt compelled to point out that this must agree with the Orthodox teachings of faith. As far as the proposal for uniformizing divine worship, the authors of the synodical answer concluded that further explanations were necessary and that all these details would be clarified in the event of the intended union. They also expressed their reservations about the Holy Liturgy celebrated in the English language which they did not know, but however they were willing to examine and sanction, if proved genuine. The translation and reading of St. John Chrysostom’s homilies and the writings of other Eastern Holy Fathers was deemed an excellent idea, as well as mutual prayers and the exchange of official letters to mark the moment of engagement in the new relation of ecclesial communion.

Regarding the dogmatic agreement between the two dialogue partners, the first digression deemed necessary due to the Nonjurors’ assertions, was centered around the phrase: “The Holy Spirit is sent from the Father, while the Son is the mediator (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο ὑπὸ πατρὸς πέμπεσθαι, μεσιτεύοντος δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ).” Thus they distinguished the eternal procession from the Father (ἐκπόρευσις) from the temporal sending of the Holy Spirit into the world (πρόεσις), and pointed out that it is not necessary to employ either the preposition ἐκ (*from*) or διὰ (*through*) with regard to the act of eternal procession. The Eastern patriarchs also counted the Ecumenical Councils as well as the Holy Fathers as organs by which the Holy Spirit makes God’s will known to the world. Regarding the relationship between the spiritual and the temporal authority, the Orthodox answer contradicted Nonjurors’ expectations, by stating the obligativity of accepting the secu-

¹⁴² Mansi XXXVII, 407: “ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὸ πεμπτημόριον τεμάχιον τοῦ ὅλου ιστίου ἀποσχισθεὶς καὶ διαμείνας καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐν διερρωγότος ιστίου μικρῷ τεμαχίῳ, οὐκ ἂν ποτε διαπλεύσειε, [...]”

¹⁴³ Overton, *The Nonjurors* cit., 458.

lar authority in all worldly matters. The rest of dogmatic statements were deemed to comply with the Orthodox teachings of faith and doctrine.

The final part of this document was also the most challenging, because it required answers to the doctrinal dissent points,

for they [the Nonjurors] were born and educated according to the Lutheran-Calvinist teachings, and indoctrinated with their prejudices, they cling to them tenaciously, like ivy to an oak tree, and can hardly be removed.¹⁴⁴

Therefore, from the standpoint of the Eastern patriarchs, the authority of the Ecumenical Councils' decisions could be no lesser than the authority of the Holy Scripture, and no concession could be made in this respect, as concessions were allowed only in matters of practice and organization. Then, the Orthodox doctrine has always distinguished between the worship due to God alone (*λατρεία*) and the veneration offered to the Holy Virgin Mary (*ὑπερδουλεία*) or the Saints (*δουλεία*), which makes it clear that the creature is by no means honoured more than the Creator. The Saints and the Mother of God alike intercede for the remission of our sins committed after the Holy Baptism, constantly assisting us and keeping us away from evil, and their intercession does not impair or detract from Christ's mediation for our redemption in any way. Nonjurors' position towards Eucharistic transsubstantiation, which they avoid defining, was perceived by the Eastern patriarchs as blasphemy (*βλασφημία*),

because denying worship to the Bread which is sanctified and turned into the Body of Christ, is to deny — God forbid — the worship of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, our Creator and Saviour. [...] Our Lord did not say: My Body is in this, or under this, or with this, but: This is My Body, showing the bread He was holding in His hand.¹⁴⁵

Icon veneration can not mislead Christians either, because it is an old tradition and veneration does not address the icon but the prototype it depicts. And should Jews or Muslims feel offended by this, it does not follow that we Christians must cease to confess our faith, for their sake:

What could be more absurd? Shall we abolish Baptism and the Holy Eucharist,

¹⁴⁴ Mansi XXXVII, 431: "γεννηθέντες γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ συντραφέντες τοῖς Λουθηροκαλβινικοῖς δόγμασι καὶ τοιαύταις ὄντες προλήψεσι προκατειλημμένοι, ὡς κισσὸς δρυὸς ἀπρίξ ἔχονται καὶ δυσάποσπαστοὶ εἰσι."

¹⁴⁵ Mansi XXXVII, 441, 443: "τὸ γὰρ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν ἱεουργηθέντα ἄρτον καὶ εἰς σῶμα μεταβεβλημένον Χριστοῦ προσκυνεῖν ταυτόν ἐστι μηδὲ αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δημιουργὸν ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρα μὴ βούλεσθαι (φεῦ) προσκυνεῖν. [...] οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τούτῳ ἢ ὑπὸ τούτῳ ἢ σὺν τούτῳ ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμά μου, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο αὐτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, δείξας αὐτοῖς τὸν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενον ἄρτον."

only because they are a scandal in their eyes? [...] God forbid! For when they hear that Christ is the Son of God, they stomp their feet and tear their vestments and beat their chests. But, despite all this, we shall not cease to preach boldly and confess Him as the true Son of God, before emperors and kings, and we shall not be ashamed, rightly believing in Him with all our hearts and we shall confess and praise Him out loud for our salvation.¹⁴⁶

The prospect of building a worship place in or near London, where the religious services would be celebrated in both Greek and English, was welcomed by those who authored and signed the document. Affiliating this church with the Patriarchate of Alexandria was also deemed to comply with the canonical prescriptions,

for in the eparchies of the patriarch of Constantinople and other patriarchs too, there are such churches and monasteries, [placed] under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and called stavropegial monasteries.¹⁴⁷

Regarding the services to be celebrated in *St Paul Cathedral*, they recommended the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, which was known to all Orthodox Christians in the East.

The first appendix they attached included specific answers regarding the number of the Holy Sacraments, the doctrine on the Holy Eucharist, arguments for the Baptism of infants, the necessity of episcopacy within the Church, and the bishops' relation with priests, celibacy, the infallibility of the Church, the veneration of Saints and icons, fasting, and the Old Testament books deemed to be noncanonical. The second appendix was exclusively dedicated to the Orthodox doctrine concerning the Eucharistic transubstantiation and the terminology employed to express this Sacrament.

Depending on the circumstances, the Eastern patriarchs' replies were now biting, now pacificatory, as were all interdenominational theological exchanges during the 16th-18th centuries; whatever their tone, they stressed "unity in faith" as a mandatory starting point, in the Orthodox perspective, for any discussion on ecclesial communion. Their arguments in support of

¹⁴⁶ Mansi XXXVII, 447, 449: "Τί τούτου ἀνοητότερον; Ἀθετήσομεν ἄρα καὶ βάπτισμα καὶ ἱερὰν κοινωνίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοὺς σκανδαλίζει, [...]. Μὴ γένοιτο· ἀκούοντες γάρ, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀποπηδῶσι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν διαρρηγνύουσι καὶ εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτῶν ἀποπτύουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς παυσόμεθα παρρησία κηρύττοντες καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ ἀληθινὸν ἐνώπιον βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων, μηδὲ ἑπαισχυνόμενοι, καρδίᾳ μὲν πιστεύοντες αὐτῷ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ ἀνακηρύττοντες εἰς σωτηρίαν."

¹⁴⁷ Mansi XXXVII, 447, 451: "γὰρ ἐν ταῖς διοικήσεσι τοῦ τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πατριάρχου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατριαρχῶν τοιαῦτά τινες ἐκκλησίαι καὶ μοναστήρια τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων πατριάρχου ἀφωσιωμένοι τε καὶ ἀνατεθειμένοι, σταυροπηγικὰ μετόχια κατονομαζόμενοι." This excerpt may be seen as an internal argument ascertaining the text's author as the patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos Notaras.

this principle, at a historical time, when the Eastern Patriarchates could have obtained important aid by accepting any theological compromise, make their firm attitude all the more creditable.

However, this answer raises two justified questions. The former concerns the “carelessness” shown by the Patriarchal Synod in Constantinople in identifying their dialogue partners. The Eastern patriarchs confined themselves to accepting Nonjurors’ self-given title (*the Orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches*), without attempting to clarify this issue. Clarification would have been facilitated by the well-known friendship between the author of this document, patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras, and the British ambassador to the *Sublime Porte*, Robert Sutton, who in 1715 was delivered the manuscript translation into Latin of the theological treatise *De processione Spiritus Sancti a solo Patre* by Adam Zoernikav (1652-1692/1694, also known as Zernikavius / Ziornikavios; this excellent *refutatio* of the *Filioque* addition was published only in 1774-1775, in two parts, at Königsberg / Regiomonti), accompanied by a Greek-language letter introducing the author, providing information on this treatise, as well as the reasons why this text had to reach University of Oxford.¹⁴⁸ The second question concerns an important omission made by the Orthodox patriarchs: they failed to tackle the validity of Anglican Nonjurors’ ordination,¹⁴⁹ although they termed them *Luthero-Calvinists*. Clearly, the text was intended as a symmetrical reply to Nonjurors’ *proposals*, but with a view to a possible ecclesial union, this topic should have been tackled.

From Constantinople to London, this document took a winding way. According to the information recorded in the archives of the Russian church in London, *protosyncellos* James left for his destination only in October 1718 *via* Smyrna, and reached Holland in April 1719. However, probably following specific directions that he received there, in July 1719 he headed for Moscow, in order to present to Czar Peter I the official reply signed by the three Eastern patriarchs, and also to meet metropolitan Arsenios, the contact person with the Nonjuror theologians.

Surprisingly, although the messenger arrived in Moscow as early as the fall of 1719, *protosyncellos* James left for London on August 21, 1721, as metropolitan Arsenios himself mentioned in his letter to patriarch Chrysanthos of January 29, 1722: “And I sent the venerable *protosyncellos* fur-

¹⁴⁸ For further details, see: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., XL; William Dunn Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library Oxford, with a Notice of the Earlier Library of the University*, Second Edition (Enlarged, and Continued from 1848 to 1880), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890, 195-196; Παπαδόπουλος, “Δοσίθεος Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων” cit., 158-159; Id., “Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα” cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος 7 (1911), 125-126, n. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Florovsky, “The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement prior to 1910” cit., 192.

ther, from Petersburg to England; he left on the 21 of August 1721.”¹⁵⁰ This two-year delay can be accounted for by some hints included by metropolitan Arsenios in his letter¹⁵¹ sent to the Nonjuror theologians from Sankt Petersburg, on August 16, 1721, which accompanied the answer of the Orthodox patriarchs. The Greek-language original of this epistle has not been published,¹⁵² but instead the English translation made by bishop Thomas Wagstaffe has been published.¹⁵³

In the above-mentioned letter, about the delay in sending the document from Constantinople, the Greek metropolitan pointed out:

Indeed the Patriarchs did not send an Answer sooner, which was not owing to Contempt, but to their being taken up in a Synodical Examination of it, as they informed me by Letter; but as for the Council, tho' they have and do give me good hopes concerning your Demands, yet the Difficulties of the present Time make it not so easy to bring the Matter to a Conclusion so soon as you and we could wish. [...] For I will not speak of the Difficultys I have endured for you: [...].¹⁵⁴

This description of the situation in Russia was completed by the Nonjuror theologians, in their epistle addressed to metropolitan Arsenios on May 30, 1722:

And we return you our hearty Thanks for the great Pains you have been at in bringing it this Length, and doubt not of your doing your utmost to finish what you have so charitably carryed on hitherto under such Discouragements from the Situation of Public Affairs, and the great Distance we are at from one Another.¹⁵⁵

These “difficulties” or “pains” mentioned by the authors of the two letters, which delayed the sending of Eastern patriarchs’ answer to London,

¹⁵⁰ Παπαδόπουλος, “Αλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα” cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 7 (1911), 219: “καὶ ἐπροβόδησα τὸν ἅγιον πρωτοσύγγelon ἀπὸ τὴν Πετρού)πολιν διὰ τὴν ἐγγλητέρα-1721-αὐγούστου 21-ἐμήσεψεν [...]”

¹⁵¹ The English translation was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 13-14. This version, accompanied by a Latin translation, was subsequently published in Mansi XXXVII, 393-396.

¹⁵² In the critical edition produced by J.B. Martin and L. Petit (Mansi XXXVII, 393-394), the authors asserted that the original, Greek-language version *has apparently been lost (perisse videtur)*, while John Dowden (“Notes on the Original Documents” cit., 564) indicated that it could be found in the *dossier of correspondence* [B5] compiled by bishop Thomas Brett and kept among the manuscripts of bishop Alexander Jolly (currently held by the *National Archive of Scotland* in Edinburgh).

¹⁵³ Dowden, “Notes on the Original Documents” cit., 564-565.

¹⁵⁴ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 13-14.

¹⁵⁵ Id., 103.

may be elucidated by a careful examination of the political-ecclesiastical context of the years 1719-1721. A first explanation for the cessation of the dialogue with the Nonjuror theologians could thus lie in the sudden interruption of Czar Peter the Great's relations with the Jacobites, whom Nonjurors were frequently mistaken for. In late 1718, with the death of King Charles XII of Sweden († November 30, 1718), the pragmatic principles always guiding the Russian monarch in his foreign policy caused him to break the good relationship he had maintained with the Jacobites since 1716, as he no longer hoped to obtain any advantage from this association. Subsequently, after the peace treaty of Nystad (August 30, 1721) between the Swedish Empire and the Russian Empire, Czar Peter I resumed his support for the Jacobite cause.¹⁵⁶ A second argument might be provided by the reforms introduced in the Russian Orthodox Church, by setting up the Most Holy Governing Synod (The Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs) in January 1721, a moment giving the State complete upperhand over the Church.¹⁵⁷ Thus, Czar Peter I first made sure of a favorable response from the Church, and only afterwards did he resume the relationship with the Nonjuror theologians. Although the entire context probably generated this reluctance of the Russian monarch, this latter working hypothesis has the advantage of corroborating the assertions of metropolitan Arsenios, who mentioned the *Council*, relating it to "difficulties of the present time."

The second episode of the dialogue and intensified correspondence with Sankt Petersburg (1722-1725)

Finally, *protosyncellos* James, who had left Sankt Petersburg on August 21, 1721 reached London in November 1721, and there, accompanied by archimandrite Gennadios, he handed to the Nonjuror theologians both the synodical answer from Constantinople, and the explanatory letter from metropolitan Arsenios. The moment when Nonjurors received the two documents was mentioned by bishop Thomas Brett in a letter addressed to his friend, the Nonjuror bishop George Smith, on April 30, 1730:

And a very kind affectionate answer was returned by a synod held in the great Church of Christ of Constantinople April 12th, 1718, under Jeremias, patriarch

¹⁵⁶ For further details on the relationship between czar Peter I and the Jacobites, see: Maurice Bruce, "Jacobite Relations with Peter the Great," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 14 (1936), 41, 343-362; Rebecca Wills, *The Jacobites and Russia, 1715-1750*, East Linton: Tuckwell, 2002, 21-96.

¹⁵⁷ Knight, "*Had the Czar not died*" cit., 22.

of Constantinople, Samuel of Alexandria, Chrysanthus of Jerusalem and several metropolitans. This answer we received not till November 1721.¹⁵⁸

However, since the proposals for union with the Orthodox Church (August 1716), dissent had arisen among the Nonjuror bishops, precisely because of the commitments envisaged in the document addressed to the Eastern Church. The interest in the "return to the old customs of the Church" led to a inner dispute, known as "the usages controversy," regarding the edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* that was to be adopted in worship.¹⁵⁹ A debate also started on the modifications made to the Holy Liturgy text in English version. This inner conflict was outlined by bishop Thomas Brett in a brief description of the dialogue with the Orthodox Church, written in March 1728:

Before the return of the Patriarch's answer to the proposals, a breach of communion happened among the Nonjurors here, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Spinkes, and Mr. Gandy on the one side, and Mr. Collier, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Gadderer, and myself on the other. So that when the Patriarch's answer came to London, in 1722, Mr. Spinkes refused to be any further concerned in the affair, and Mr. Gadderer and I joined in it. After Mr. Gadderer went to Scotland, Mr. Griffin, being consulted, joined with us.¹⁶⁰

Thus, between 1716-1718, when these debates took place, bishops Nathaniel Spinkes, Samuel Hawes and Henry Gandy supported the 1662 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, as well as keeping the Holy Liturgy text in the form it had at the time. On the other side, bishops Jeremy Collier, Archibald Campbell, James Gadderer and Thomas Brett, later joined by bishop John Griffin, considered as absolutely requisite to return to the famous edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, published by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, in 1549. Regarding the Holy Liturgy text, they wanted a complete revision of it, and pleaded for its correlation with the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Although the bishop of Edinburgh, Alexander Rose, joined the discussions and unsuccessfully tried to curb the enthusiasm of the two Scottish bishops, Archibald Campbell and James Gadderer,¹⁶¹ in 1718 a revised version of the Holy Liturgy was issued, as well as the services of Confirmation and Visitation of the Sick (*Extrema*

¹⁵⁸ Langford, "The Non-Jurors" cit., 129.

¹⁵⁹ For a concise but clear presentation of this domestic controversy, see: George H. Tavard, *The Quest for Catholicity. A Study in Anglicanism*, London: Burns & Oates, 1963, 103-106.

¹⁶⁰ Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 311.

¹⁶¹ Sefton, "The Scottish Bishops and Archbishop Arsenius" cit., 242-243.

Unctio).¹⁶² The Nonjurors' wing headed by bishop Nathaniel Spinkes separated from the others, but remained in a schism from the Church of England. Therefore, no one of those who joined him was interested in the envisaged union with the Orthodox Church, a project which from then on was left in the hands of bishop Jeremy Collier and his adherents.¹⁶³

Once they had received the Eastern patriarchs' answer in November 1721, the Nonjurors who wanted to continue negotiations assigned to bishop Thomas Wagstaffe the task of a faithful translation into English of the document.¹⁶⁴ Then, bishop Jeremy Collier took upon himself the drafting of an answer letter, which was later sanctioned by the other Nonjuror theologians and translated into Greek by the same bishop Thomas Wagstaffe, and into Latin by reverend Samuel Jebb. The Greek-language version was intended for Constantinople, and the Latin one was dedicated for Sankt Petersburg.¹⁶⁵ Both documents bear the signatures of bishops Archibald Campbell, Jeremy Collier, James Gadderer and Thomas Brett, as well as Thomas Deacon (ὁ μέγας χαρτοφύλαξ). The ecclesiastical title assumed by bishop Jeremy Collier, and added to his name in all the other epistles belonging to this correspondence, since he signed this answer (May 29, 1722) was even more misleading to the Eastern counterparts. He introduced himself as *primus Anglo-Britanniae episcopus* (ὁ Ἀγγλο-Βρεταννίας πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος), a title which less knowledgeable persons could easily mistake for that of the Archbishop of Canterbury (*Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliae primas et metropolitanus*).¹⁶⁶

Although the (sometimes patronizing) tone of the Eastern patriarchs' answer might have provided grounds for a similar reply, the attitude adopted by the Nonjuror theologians was very moderate and balanced. Thus, the first paragraph of the document¹⁶⁷ addressed to the four Eastern patriarchs (although Athanasios of Antioch had not signed the answer of April 1718), expressed Nonjurors' gratitude for the patriarchs' attention to their

¹⁶² *A Communion Office, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the First English Reformed Common-Prayer-Book: together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick*, London: printed for J. Smith, 1718.

¹⁶³ For details on this domestic dispute among Nonjurors, see: Overton, *The Nonjurors* cit., 290-308. For the consequences of this break upon the correspondence with the Eastern Church, see: Skinner, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* cit., 634; A.H. Hore, *Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church*, London: James Parker and Co., 1899, 607; Petit, "Entre Anglicans et Orthodoxes" cit., 55, 326.

¹⁶⁴ Dowden, "Notes on the Original Documents" cit., 565.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁶ Mansi XXXVII, 491-492, 591.

¹⁶⁷ The English-language original version was published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 326-343; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 83-102. The Greek and Latin versions were subsequently published in Mansi XXXVII, 471-492.

proposals. Both parties supported the prospect of a positive outcome, with arguments based on the Holy Scripture and the Holy Fathers' writings.

Nonjurors' commentaries on the first 12 proposals confined themselves to three brief statements: first, they willingly gave up the proposal to alter the ranking of the patriarchal sees, but asserted the independence of their Church from all Patriarchates; then, they made it clear that by *παιδεία* they understood their interest in the revision of worship practices; finally, they pointed out that the Holy Liturgy celebrated in English was sent to the Eastern patriarchs in order to be examined. The revised English text of the Holy Liturgy,¹⁶⁸ published in 1718 in the context of the *usages controversy*, had already been translated both into Greek, by bishop John Griffin, and in Latin by William Weldon Ford, and was attached to the respective document.¹⁶⁹ Metropolitan Arsenios himself, in the epistle he sent to patriarch Chrysanthos on March 19, 1723 mentioned this fact:

By your prayers, the venerable protosyncellus has again returned from Britain with new answers and a letter from the British to the Synod of Russia and to its monarch, and they have also sent two booklets, which are the answer to the chapters you sent to them. One booklet is written in Greek, and the other in Latin. Beside these, they have also sent two Liturgies, one of them in Greek and the other in Latin, and they addressed the Synod and the monarch, asking them to send the two Greek booklets further to the four patriarchs.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ The original English version was published in: *A Communion Office, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the First English Reformed Common-Prayer-Book: together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick*, London: printed for J. Smith, 1718. It was later republished in: Peter Hall (ed.), *Fragmenta Liturgica. Documents illustrative of the Liturgy of the Church of England, exhibiting the several emendations of it, and substitutions for it, that have been proposed from time to time, and partially adopted, whether at home or abroad*, vol. V (*Nonjurors' and Scottish Offices*), Bath: Binns and Goodwin, 1848, 9-52; John Dowden, *The Annotated Scottish Communion Office. An Historical Account of the Scottish Communion Office and of the Communion Office of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America with Liturgical Notes*, Edinburgh / London / New York: R. Grant & Son / Parker & Co. / T. Whittaker, 1884, 293-321.

¹⁶⁹ Dowden, "Notes on the Original Documents" cit., 565. The Greek and Latin translations were published in Mansi XXXVII, 491-520. Interestingly, although in the text of this answer the Nonjuror theologians never asserted that they maintained their disagreement over the *Filioque* addition, but on the contrary suggested that they accepted all explanations given by the Eastern patriarchs, they did not modify the *Creed* in the Holy Liturgy text. If we consider the fact that bishop Thomas Brett, in his *Draft for Nonjurors' arguments for the Sankt Petersburg debate*, probably written in the second half of 1724, addressed this issue again, paying special attention to it, we may conclude that the *Filioque* addition was still an unsolved dogmatic problem. See bishop Brett's position on this matter, in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 132-136.

¹⁷⁰ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος 7 (1911), 219-220: "Πάλιν δι' εὐχῶν σας ἀγίων ἦλθεν ὁ ἅγιος Πρωτοσύγκελλος ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα μὲ ἄλλαις ἀποκρίσαις καὶ μὲ γράμμα ἀπὸ τοὺς Βρεταννοὺς πρὸς τὴν Σύνοδον τῆς Ρωσίας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μονάρ-

All theological nuances and explanations provided by the synodical answer concerning the 12 items on which doctrines agreed, were accepted by the Nonjurors with no amendments. Before tackling the points on which they disagreed, the authors deemed necessary to emphasize their distancing from any Protestant influence:

what conjectures soever the Catholick Oriental Church might have to suspect us of Luther-Calvinism, we openly declare, that none of the distinguishing principles of either of those Sects, can fairly be charged upon us; and we farther believe, that upon the perusal of our Reply they will readily acquit us of any such imputation.¹⁷¹

Regarding the authority of the Ecumenical Councils, Nonjurors declared that they could accept the dogmatic decisions of the first six ones as equal in authority with the Holy Scripture, but they would not accept the canonical decisions issued by these councils. As far as the Seventh Ecumenical Council was concerned, they were in no way willing to accept it, as they declared themselves against the veneration of angels and Saints. They attempted to compile a dossier of scriptural and patristic arguments against any other veneration than the worship offered to God. One by one, arguments provided by the works of Origen, Theodoret of Cyrus, Saints: Irenaeus, Theophilus of Antioch, Athanasios of Alexandria, Epiphanius and Augustine, as well as canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea were invoked in support of the teaching put forth by the Nonjuror theologians. They also rejected the Orthodox dogma of real presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, pleading for a metaphorical interpretation of the Saviour's words (*John* 6, 53-55). In this case, the patristic dossier included excerpts from the writings of Tertullian, Theodoret of Cyrus, of the Saints: Justin, Irenaeus of Lyons, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Augustine and pope Gelasius I. The last point on which they disagreed was the veneration of icons, their arguments coming from St. Epiphanius and the resolutions of the famous iconoclast assembly of Hieria (754). However, they declared that:

we willingly acknowledge, that the use of Images in Churches is not only lawful, but may be serviceable for representing the History of the Saints, for refreshing the memory, and warming the Devotion of the People. And thus, our reason for

χην καὶ ἔστειλαν καὶ δύο βιβλιάρια τὰ ὅποια εἶναι ἡ ἀπόκρισις τῶν κεφαλαίων ὅπου ἐστείλατε. Τὸ ἓνα βιβλιάριον εἶνε ἑλληνικὸν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο εἶνε λατινικόν. Στέλνουν ἀκόμη καὶ δύο λειτουργίας ἡ μία ἑλληνικὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη λατίνια, καὶ γράφουν πρὸς τὴν Σύνοδον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μονάρχην παρακαλόντας νὰ στείλουν τὰ δύο ἑλληνικὰ βιβλιάρια εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας Πατριάρχας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ γράφουν καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων τὰ ὀνόματα."

¹⁷¹ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 86.

alleging the foregoing Testimonies, is not against the use, but only against the worship of Images.¹⁷²

So as the Nonjurors' position towards these teachings of faith should not jeopardize the proceedings, the same authors suggested a compromise: if they were not demanded to observe these diverging points, and if the patriarchs signed a document to this effect, they were willing to establish communion with the Orthodox Church. As a final argument in support of their assertions, the Nonjuror theologians invited the patriarchs:

would please to remember, that Christianity is no gradual Religion, but was entire and perfect when the Evangelists and Apostles were deceased. [...] For, the stream runs clearest towards the fountain's head.¹⁷³

In the two days following this document's signing (May 30-31, 1722), the group of Nonjuror bishops drafted three other letters to be sent to Russia: one addressed to metropolitan Arsenios, another to the Holy Synod, and a third one to count Gavril Ivanovich Golovkin, the chancellor of Russia. The letter intended for the Orthodox metropolitan (May 30, 1722),¹⁷⁴ then residing in Sankt Petersburg, was originally written in English by bishop Archibald Campbell and translated into Latin by reverend Samuel Jebb. This Latin-language version was the one sent to its destination. The epistle addressed to the Holy Synod (May 30, 1722)¹⁷⁵ was drafted in English by bishop Jeremy Collier and translated into Latin by the same Samuel Jebb; both versions were sent. Finally, the letter addressing the great chancellor (May 31, 1722)¹⁷⁶ was written solely in English by bishop Jeremy Collier. Regarding the persons undersigning them, unlike the document addressed to the Eastern patriarchs, in all these three epistles the name of Thomas Deacon was missing, and in the letter addressed to the Russian chancellor

¹⁷² Id., 100.

¹⁷³ Id., 101.

¹⁷⁴ The original English version was published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 343-344; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 102-104. This version, accompanied by the Latin translation, was later published in Mansi XXXVII, 519-522.

¹⁷⁵ The original English version was published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 344-345; *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Non-Jurors and the Russians*), [New York: s.n., 1864], 5; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 104-105. This version, accompanied by the Latin translation, was later published in Mansi XXXVII, 521-524.

¹⁷⁶ The original English version was published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 345-346; *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Non-Jurors and the Russians*), [New York: s.n., 1864], 5-6; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 106. This version, accompanied by the Latin translation, was later published in Mansi XXXVII, 523-526.

the signature of bishop Thomas Brett was omitted as well. All three letters, however, retained the ecclesiastical titles.¹⁷⁷

The message sent to the Greek metropolitan included thanksgivings for his efforts and encouragements to continue his activity; but it was the letters addressed to the Russian party that indicated the expectations of Nonjuror theologians. The Holy Synod's members were thus asked to keep the Latin copies of the documents received (namely, the answer to the Eastern patriarchs and the translation of the Holy Liturgy), and send the Greek-language ones to Constantinople. They were also asked to intercede with Czar Peter I in the event of financial difficulties related to the cost of the messenger's journey. To ensure the success of this enterprise, Nonjurors also turned to count Golovkin, who was in charge of Russia's foreign affairs:

humbly entreat your Lordship would please to continue your Favour and Protection, without which we are afraid the Business must languish and miscarry.¹⁷⁸

This extensive correspondence (the Greek and Latin answer to the Eastern patriarchs, the Holy Liturgy text in its Greek and Latin translations, the Latin letter to metropolitan Arsenios, the epistle to the Holy Synod written in both English and Latin, as well as the letter addressed to count Golovkin in English) was assigned to *protosyncellos* James, who was accompanied to Sankt Petersburg by Bartholomeos Cassanos. Before these envoys' arrival in Sankt Petersburg, metropolitan Arsenios who was disturbed at the delay in the Nonjurors' response, wrote to them a letter in Greek, translated by bishop Thomas Wagstaffe, and dated June 11, 1722,¹⁷⁹ by which he sought to urge them to act:

For I do not think it proper to delay the matter any longer, for we do not know what tomorrow may bring. Caution, however, prompts us to undertake and complete everything, as long as the powers that be agree with it and are well disposed towards it.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Dowden, "Notes on the Original Documents" cit., 565-566. The Latin translation that accompanied the English version in the case of the epistle addressed to the Holy Governing Synod concluded with the following phrase: *Serenissimo Imperatori Magnae Russiae, et Sacro Concilio Praesidentibus, Reverendissimis Archiepiscopis ac Dominis D. Stephano Razamiensi, D. Theodosio Novogradensi, D. Theophani Piscoviensi.*

¹⁷⁸ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 106.

¹⁷⁹ The original Greek version (accompanied by the English translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 525-526. The English version had been previously published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 107.

¹⁸⁰ Mansi XXXVII, 525: "παρακτείνων γὰρ τὰ πράγματα, οὐ κείνω καλόν, ἱμαί. οὐ γὰρ τί τέξε-ται ἡ ἐπιούσα, οἶδαμεν· ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα κατορθοῦν καὶ ἄγειν εἰς τέλος, ἕως οὗ ἔχομεν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν κρατούντων προθύμους, διδάσκει ἡ φρόνησις."

Finally, the two messengers sent by the Nonjurors reached the new capital built by Czar Peter I on September 9, 1722, as *protosyncellos* James himself informed them. However, in his letter addressed to the leading Nonjurors in English, on September 20, 1722,¹⁸¹ he also announced them that the Czar and his court were in Moscow, and the messengers had not been able to deliver the letters but were waiting for the proper moment to travel to Moscow. In November 1722, *protosyncellos* James (Bartholomeos Cassanos may also have continued his journey, but this is not mentioned in any document of this *dossier*) had already reached Moscow; here he failed again to meet Czar Peter the Great, who had moved to Astrakhan. Subsequently, in the Latin-written letter of December 9, 1722,¹⁸² metropolitan Arsenios informed the Nonjurors that he had personally handed the letter to count Golovkin, who promised his support for the success of this enterprise. This epistle received a very prompt answer written in Latin from bishops Jeremy Collier and Archibald Campbell on January 28, 1723.¹⁸³ Beside the usual thanksgivings and encouragements, the two authors of the letter also mentioned the gifts received from Constantinople:

The most venerable patriarchs courteously added gifts, and in their great benevolence they offered us wonderful books, and we shall always remember their kindness with gratitude.¹⁸⁴

The first official response to the correspondence sent by Nonjurors in May 1722 came from the Most Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. Thus, in February 1723,¹⁸⁵ an epistle drafted in Russian and Latin and undersigned by eight members of the Holy Synod was sent to the Nonjuror theologians. It informed them that the documents addressed

¹⁸¹ The original English-language version was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 107-108. It was subsequently republished together with a Latin translation, in Mansi XXXVII, 527-528.

¹⁸² The original Latin version (together with its English translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 527-530. The English version had been previously published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 108-110.

¹⁸³ The original Latin version (together with its English translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 529-532. The English version had been previously published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 347-348; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 110-112.

¹⁸⁴ Mansi XXXVII, 529, 531: "Sanctissimi quidem patriarchae laboribus vestris adjunxerunt munera, et libros pro summa sua benevolentia nobis donarunt praestantissimos, beneficium conferentes semper a nobis grato animo agnoscendum."

¹⁸⁵ Both the Russian and the Latin versions were published in Mansi XXXVII, 533-536. The English translation had been previously published in: *The Doctrine of the Russian Church* cit., XXVI-XXVII; *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Nonjurors and the Russians*), [New York: s.n., 1864], 7-8; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 114-116.

to the Eastern patriarchs had been already delivered, and the Latin-written ones were being examined by the Holy Synod. They had also informed Czar Peter I, who had welcomed the continuation of discussions. The solution proposed by the Russian monarch, adopted by the Synod members and conveyed to the Nonjurors through this epistle, was the following:

He finds it proper that you should send two of your people, for a friendly discussion in the name and spirit of Christ, with two others we choose among our brethren. Thus each party will be able to express its opinions, arguments and beliefs more openly and they may be understood more clearly. And it will be easier to ascertain what may be renounced and what we [may] yield to each other, and on the other hand, what can and must be categorically refused on conscience grounds.¹⁸⁶

The letter concluded by announcing the death of the metropolitan of Ryazan and the president of the Holy Synod, Stephen Yavorsky, "prior to receiving your letter (*priusquam litterae vestrae ad nos pervenerint*)."

A close examination of the Most Holy Governing Synod's answer raises a question concerning the its freedom to act: why did the Nonjurors choose to engage in a dialogue with this body, when obviously Czar Peter I was able to decide by himself? Not only was the Holy Synod completely dependent on the imperial policy, but it enjoyed no more freedom in dogmatic matters either, and could not unilaterally negotiate an ecclesiastical union. This was made clear in the answer dated June 15, 1718, sent by the Russian bishops to the union proposal put forth by the Roman-Catholic theologians of Sorbonne:

the first thing we have to do is consult our brethren abroad, mainly the most venerable bishops, the four patriarchs of the East, so that we may not appear to scorn and disdain them, and we may not leave the impression that while seeking new fellowships, we break the old ones.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Mansi XXXVII, 536: "Consultum putat, si vos duos e vestratibus mittatis huc, ad moderatum in nomine et spiritu Christi cum duobus itidem e medio nostri destinandis fratribus, colloquium faciendum. Fore ita, ut utriusque partis opiniones, argumenta et persuasiones sincerius expromantur, et luculentius intelligantur, faciliusque cognoscatur, quid ab alterutra alteri concedi ac remitti, quid, contra, negari penitus, pro conscientia, possit et debeat."

¹⁸⁷ *Histoire et analyse du livre de L'Action de Dieu. Opuscules de M. Boursier relatifs à cet ouvrage. Mémoire du même auteur sur la divinité des Chinois. Relation des démarches faites par les docteurs de Sorbonne pour la réunion de l'Église de Russie. Recueil des pièces qui concernent cette affaire*, tome III, [Paris], 1753, 414: "Quare id negotii in primis incumbit nobis, ut etiam alienigenas Fratres nostros, praesertim supremos Episcopos, quatuor Patriarchas Orientis, hacce de re consulamus; ne eos contemnere gaviterque offendere, et dum novas societates inire studemus, pristinas convellere videamur." See also: P. Pierling, *La Sorbonne et la Russie (1717-1747)*, coll. *Bibliothèque Slave Elzévirienne* 3, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1882, 39-57; Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox* cit., 180-181.

The Nonjurors probably attempted to determine a favorable decision of Czar Peter I by all possible means, and diplomatic custom demanded that they should also contact, at least formally, the decision-making body of the Russian Orthodox Church. A second necessary clarification concerns the Czar's decision to hold a theological conference. The respective idea was not actually his, but belonged to *protosyncellos* James, who shared it first with the Nonjuror theologians in London (November 1721), then metropolitan Arsenios (November 1722), who in turn put it before the Holy Synod, and the latter presented it to Czar Peter I, who endorsed it. This intricate course was described in the Greek metropolitan's letter to patriarch Chrysanthos, dated March 19, 1723,¹⁸⁸ where he reported the state of affairs at the moment.

Chronologically, the following epistle prepared for dispatch was written in Latin by the same metropolitan Arsenios in Moscow, dated August 25, 1723,¹⁸⁹ and addressed to the Nonjuror theologians. This letter provided its addressees with information on the favorable response of the Holy Synod and the Czar, as well as the arrangements for the theological conference to be held in Russia. For unknown reasons, both the Holy Synod's letter of February 1723, containing the first mention of this proposal accepted by the Czar, and this epistle, only reached their destination in the following year (1724).

In the meanwhile, the Nonjurors' answers, accompanied by the Greek translation of the Holy Liturgy text, arrived in Constantinople. The person who carried out this mission is not known, but it clearly was not the same envoy, *id est protosyncellos* James, for he stayed in Moscow between November 1722 – February 1724. The second answer of the Eastern patriarchs,¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ The Greek text was published in: Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φᾶρος 7 (1911), 219-221 [republished in: Id., Ἀποπεῖρα ἐνώσεως τῶν Ἁγγλῶν Ἀνωμότων cit., 51-52]. An English translation was subsequently published in: Chrysostom of Athens, "An Unpublished Correspondence" cit., 6-8.

¹⁸⁹ The Latin original (together with the English translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 531-534. The English-language version had been previously published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 112-113.

¹⁹⁰ The first Greek-language version was published in: Γεδεών, *Κανονικαὶ Διατάξεις* cit., 428-430, 430-436 (this version includes the first part of the answer sent by the Eastern patriarchs, then skips to the *questions* concluding the *confession* of patriarch Dositheos II; the respective version only contains three questions out of four). The complete Greek version, accompanied by a Latin translation, was published in Mansi XXXVII, 541-580. The Greek-language version was later republished in: Καρμίρης, *Τὰ Δογματικά* cit., 818-820 [898-900]. There is also a Romanian translation of this document, published in: Vasile Loichița, "Mărturisirea lui Dositei. Întâia traducere românească după textul original grecesc publicat la 1690 în București," *Canadela* 53-54 (1942-1943), 229-256 (like the fragmentary Greek version published by Manouil Gedeon it contains only three questions, accompanied by the respective answers, instead of four questions). The English translation authored by bishop Thomas Wagstaffe (who translat-

conveyed to London *via* Moscow, like the previous document, received the sanction of a council held in Constantinople, in September 1723, and attended by patriarchs Jeremias III of Constantinople, Athanasios III of Antioch and Chrysanthos of Jerusalem (patriarch Samuel Kapasoules of Alexandra had passed away during that month, which explains why his signature is missing on this document), as well as nine metropolitans. The text of this answer was brief, and stressed the necessity of complete observance of the Orthodox doctrine, as it was presented in *The Shield of the True Faith* (Ἀσπίς Ὁρθοδοξίας), the confession of faith written by patriarch Dositheos II Notaras, and sanctioned by the Council of Jerusalem (1672), which they attached as an appendix for the Nonjurors' awareness:

with which, if you agree, you shall be one with us and there shall be no distinction between us. And regarding the church usage and practices, and the form and way of administering the sacraments, they will easily be settled once union has been acquired. For church history clearly shows that there have been and still are different customs and practices in different places and Churches, but the unity of faith and teachings is preserved.¹⁹¹

Thus, if the Nonjuror theologians were willing to accept a negotiation of the doctrinal differences, in order to reach an *acceptable compromise* and subsequently ecclesial communion, the Orthodox patriarchs stipulated a shared confession of the faith as a prerequisite, which could never be negotiated. To indicate precisely the Orthodox teaching which Nonjurors had to accept, the patriarchs resorted to the most recent confession of the faith: *The Shield of the True Faith*, written by patriarch Dositheos as the latest response to the case of *Kyrillos Loukaris*. He had replaced all Protestant teachings in the text of the *Calvinized confession* (originally published in Latin, in 1629, then in Greek, in 1633) with pure Orthodox dogmas. This was the condition which the Nonjuror theologians had to meet, in order to achieve the desired union with the Orthodox Church.

Beside this categorical answer addressed to their dialogue partners across the English Channel, the three Eastern patriarchs, undersigning the

ed only the first part of the patriarchs' answer, without the text proper of patriarch Dositheos II Notaras' confession) was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 117-121, 141-168.

¹⁹¹ Mansi XXXVII, 543: "καὶ εἰ μὲν συγκατανεύσητε καὶ ὑμεῖς στέργοντες τούτοις τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν δοξαζομένοις, πάντως τὸ ἐν ἔσεσθε μεθ' ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐδεμία διάστασις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔσται. Ὅσον δὲ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τάξεων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῆς διορθώσεως τῆς ἱερᾶς μυσταγωγίας καὶ λειτουργίας, εὐχερὴς καὶ ῥαδίᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τούτων διορθώσις, τῆς ἐνώσεως σὺν θεῷ γενομένης· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστορικῶν βιβλίων δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ἔθνη μὲν καὶ τάξεις τινὲς παρηλλαγμένοι ἦσαν τε καὶ εἰσιν ἐν διαφόροις τόποις καὶ ἐκκλησίαις, ἡ ἐνότης δὲ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ὁμοφροσύνης περὶ τὰ δόγματα σώζεται ἡ αὐτή."

answer, also drafted a letter (dated September 1723) addressed to the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church,¹⁹² the mediator of the latest documents. The Russian Synod members were advised to keep the Orthodox dogmas unchanged and avoid any alteration.

And if you wish and intend to write and answer to them, tell them so: this is the position of our Eastern Church, as clarifies and expounds the Orthodox confession now sent by you to them. For union shall be achieved only in these terms, not different ones, and they shall be one with us, if they accept the same faith and worship as we have.¹⁹³

Between September 1723 – February 1724, the two epistles sent by the Eastern patriarchs from Constantinople reached Sankt Petersburg, therefore some of the members of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, headed by archbishop Theophan Prokopovich, wrote a new letter (conveyed in Latin) to the Nonjuror bishops, on February 2, 1724.¹⁹⁴ This text mentioned the delay of *protosyncellos* James' journey to England; however, on his belated departure, he took with him the answers recently received from Constantinople. The letter also briefly reminded of the invitation to Sankt Petersburg made to two Nonjuror theologians, able to have a well-argued discussion on the dogmas still at variance.

Bearing the entire correspondence over the last few months (the two letters issued by the Holy Synod in February 1723 and February 1724, the epistle of metropolitan Arsenios of August 1723, as well as the Orthodox patriarchs' answer of September 1723), *protosyncellos* James left Sankt Petersburg for London in February 1724. This precise fact was indicated in the letter which metropolitan Arsenios addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos¹⁹⁵ on June 10, 1724:

¹⁹² The original Greek-language version (together with its translation into Latin) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 537-540. It was also edited and published in: Καλλινίκος Δελικάνης, *Πατριαρχικῶν ἐγγράφων, τόμος τρίτος, Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, 1905, 237-239.*

¹⁹³ Mansi XXXVII, 539: "Καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, εἴπερ σκοπὸν ἔχετε καὶ βούλεσθε γράψαι καὶ ἀποκριθῆναι πρὸς ἐκείνους, οὕτω πάντως γράψετε λέγοντες, ὅτι τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἡμέτερον τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ἐκκλησίας φρόνημα, καθὼς δηλοποιεῖ καὶ παρίστησιν ἡ νῦν παρ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους πεμπομένη, ὡς εἴρηται, ἔκθεσις τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἡ ἔνωσις γενήσεται, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἔσσοντι μεθ' ἡμῶν, εἴγε δηλονότι ὁμόφρονες ἡμῖν καὶ ὁμόδοξοι θελήσωσιν εἶναι."

¹⁹⁴ The original version written in Russian (together with its Latin translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 535-538. The English-language version had been previously published in: *The Doctrine of the Russian Church* cit., XXVII-XXVIII; *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee, No. II (Correspondence of the Non-Jurors and the Russians)*, [New York: s.n., 1864], 9; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 116-117.

¹⁹⁵ The Greek original was published in: Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 7 (1911), 221-222 [republished in: Id., *Ἀπομείρα ἐνώσεως τῶν Ἀγγλῶν*

I sent the protosyncellos back to England with your answers, and he left Petersburg in February, and I have not yet received any news of his arrival.¹⁹⁶

We do not know the exact moment when the tireless courier reached his destination, but it is certain that in early June, the Nonjurors were already preparing their delegation for Sankt Petersburg. This fact is revealed in the English-written letter addressed by Bartholomeos Cassanos to the Nonjuror bishops, on June 3, 1724.¹⁹⁷ He informed the Nonjurors' leaders that he was ready to leave again with their spokesmen for the Czar's court, and was even ready to forfeit his life and wealth for this noble goal. He was, however, worried about his uncle, archimandrite Gennadios, whom he appears to have found quite ill upon his return from Russia, and would leave only if absolutely necessary. Consequently, on the same day (June 3, 1724), bishops Jeremy Collier and Archibald Campbell addressed a Greek-written letter¹⁹⁸ to archimandrite Gennadios, asking him to allow Mr. Cassanos to accompany the two Nonjuror theologians to Russia, as their translator.

Quite surprisingly, when everything seemed arranged about the delegates to be sent to Russia, on July 13, 1724, the Nonjuror bishops wrote three letters which they dispatched to Sankt Petersburg. The first¹⁹⁹ of them, drafted in English by bishop Thomas Brett and translated into Latin by reverend Samuel Jebb (this was the version sent), was addressed to metropolitan Arsenios. The second epistle,²⁰⁰ written in English by bishop Jeremy Collier then translated into Latin by the same Samuel Jebb (both versions were sent), addressed the Most Holy Governing Synod. Finally,

¹⁹⁶ Ἀνωμότων cit., 53]. An English translation of this document was also published subsequently in: Chrysostom of Athens, "An Unpublished Correspondence" cit., 8.

¹⁹⁶ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος 7 (1911), 222: "Τὸν Πρωτοσύγκελλον τὸν ἔστειλαν πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα μὲ ταῖς ἀποκρίσιν οἷον ἔστειλατε ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμίσησεν ἀπὸ τὴν Πετρόπολιν τὸν Φεβρουάριον μῆνα, καὶ ἀκόμη δὲν ἔχομεν καμίαν ἀπόκρισιν ἂν ἔφθασε."

¹⁹⁷ The English-language original was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 122. This version was later republished, together with its Latin translation, in Mansi XXXVII, 579-580.

¹⁹⁸ The Greek-language original (together with its English translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 579-580. The English version had been previously published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 351; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 123.

¹⁹⁹ The Latin original version (together with its English translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 581-582. The English version had been previously published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 351-352; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 123-124.

²⁰⁰ Both versions (Latin and English) were published in Mansi XXXVII, 581-584. The English version had been previously published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 352-353; *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Non-Jurors and the Russians*), [New York: s.n., 1864], 10; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 125-126.

the third letter,²⁰¹ written by bishop Jeremy Collier and sent in the original English language only, was directed to count Golovkin, the great chancellor of Russia. All three epistles were signed, in order, by bishops Archibald Campbell, Jeremy Collier, Thomas Brett and John Griffin. The main point of the respective day's correspondence was the necessity to delay the journey of Nonjuror delegates, for objective reasons, eloquently explained in the epistle addressing the Holy Synod:

We regret we might not be able to send two of our clergymen to visit your Lordships this summer, as we promised the reverend archimandrite and the protosyncellus. However, if this should happen against our will, please forgive us. Here is what happened: one of the gentlemen arrived in town only recently and could by no means set his personal affairs in order, so that he could safely travel by sea before winter sets in. But, as soon as next summer begins, God willing, they shall certainly arrive before your Lordships, together with our worthy friend, Mr. Cassano.²⁰²

The Holy Synod members and the great chancellor received further information on the hardships met by the Nonjurors in Great Britain through the messenger, and metropolitan Arsenios was asked to explain this exceptional situation to all those concerned, and apologize for the delay, which was not due to any negligence.

On the same day (July 13, 1724), the four bishops also issued an acknowledgement written in Latin,²⁰³ which was probably intended for metropolitan Arsenios, thanking for

the four highly instructive books, sent here as a gift for the benefit and edification of the catholic remnant of our Church, by the blessed lord Chrysanthos,

²⁰¹ The English original was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 126-128. The first part of this English-written epistle had been previously published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 354; *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Non-Jurors and the Russians*), [New York: s.n., 1864], 11. The English version, together with its Latin translation, was later published in Mansi XXXVII, 583-586.

²⁰² Mansi XXXVII, 583: "Id vero nos piget, quod, prout promisimus reverendis archimandritae et protosyncello, duos adhuc e clero nostro delegare non potuimus, qui praesenti aestate vos inviserent; at rogamus suppliciter, ut propterea nos excusatos habeatis, cum hoc praeter expectationem acciderit nostram. Res autem ita se habet. Ex longinqua peregrinatione nuper rediit horum alter, atque privatis rerum suarum curis ita se distractum reperit, ut hinc prificisci nequeat, donec propter appropinquantem hyemem per aequora vehi sit minus tutum. Quamprimum vero proxima inchoaverit aestas, adjuvante Deo, navem conscendent, una cum amicissimo nostri d^{no} Cassano."

²⁰³ The Latin original version (together with its English translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 585-586. The English translation of this brief note had previously been published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 354; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 128.

patriarch of the Church of Jerusalem, and delivered to us with the utmost care and loyalty by the reverend protosyncellus.²⁰⁴

One of the two delegates appointed by Nonjurors to be their representatives in Sankt Petersburg was reverend Samuel Jebb, as shows a letter of bishop Thomas Brett addressed to bishop Archibald Campbell on February 6, 1725. Moreover, at the moment, the author of this epistle volunteered to replace him, arguing in favor of higher-ranking delegates:

I know not how it may be taken by the Grave Gentlemen who desire the Conference, to see two young men sent to them, whether they will so readily hearken to what may be said by such Persons on this Occasion as if one of them at least has Gray hairs. Whether they might not think themselves slighted if one that is no more than a Priest is sent to them on this Occasion. Also it ought to be considered how the Emperor himself may take it on this Occasion, whether he may not be prejudiced at first Sight of two young men.²⁰⁵

The background of reverend Samuel Jebb recommended him for such a mission: most likely since the year 1718, he had been the personal librarian of bishop Jeremy Collier, and had actively participated in the Latin translation of some of the Nonjurors' epistles addressing their counterparts in Sankt Petersburg; as far as his education was concerned, Samuel Jebb had studied Theology, graduating from University of Cambridge in 1712-1713. We have no further information on the second delegate whom the Nonjurors intended to send to Moscow.

Regarding the interest of bishop Thomas Brett in participating directly in the theological debate, this is manifest in the "draft of arguments in support of the Nonjurors' doctrinal positions,"²⁰⁶ which he wrote at the turn of 1724-1725. In this draft document, the author tackled the four items which, in his opinion, were to be addressed in the following meeting: the *Filioque*, the purgatory, the decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and the distinction between the worship offered to God (*latria*) and the veneration offered to the Virgin Mary and the saints (*hyperdoulia*, respectively *doulia*). Although bishop Brett stated from the very beginning that the addition to the Creed would be dropped in the event of a union, he considered as necessary to explain Nonjurors' previous position in this matter. Thus, he quoted

²⁰⁴ Mansi XXXVII, 585: "donno accepisse libros quatuor eruditissimos, a beatissimo ecclesiae Hierosolymitanae patriarcha ac d^{no} d^{no} Chrysantho, in ecclesiae nostrae catholicarum reliquiarum usum et beneficium huc missos, nobisque a rev^{do} protosyncello summa cura fideque maxima redditos."

²⁰⁵ Knight, "Had the Czar not died" cit., 25.

²⁰⁶ The English original version was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 132-140.

excerpts from the works of British authors (Daniel Waterland, John Pearson, Miles Coverdale), Holy Fathers (Epiphanius and Cyril of Jerusalem) and the Holy Scripture; the Nonjuror bishop tried to offer reasons for this addition, but also admitted that some,

out of a greater respect to such Synodical Determinations, will admit of no such Insertions, nor speak any other Language than the Scriptures and their Fathers spake.²⁰⁷

The purgatory should raise no controversy — assess the Nonjuror author, for both parties deemed that prayers and offerings could alleviate or improve the state of the deceased ones. Thus, bishop Brett proposed that both parties should “keep to the ancient Forms.” Criticism against the decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council was harsh, based on the fact that no one of the three Eastern patriarchs had attended this Council. By quoting William Cave, Roger Hoveden, Simeon Dunelmensis, Matthew of Westminster (actually, Matthew Parisiensis), Louis Ellies Du Pin, as well as patriarch Photios and the Byzantine chronicler Nicetas Choniates, he asserted that the West had always denied the authority of the Second Council of Nicea. The last part, namely Nonjurors’ position towards the three different veneration system, which unfortunately ends *ex abrupto*, contains only reference to biblical texts speaking of the worship exclusively due to God.

The same indefatigable traveller, *protosyncellos* James, had already arrived in Sankt Petersburg on September 20, 1724; metropolitan Arsenios conveyed this information to patriarch Chrysanthos in a letter²⁰⁸ of September 1724: “The protosyncellos has returned from England to Petersburg (Ἦλθε καὶ ὁ Πρωτοσύγκελλος ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα εἰς τὴν Πετρόπολιν).” The correspondence *dossier* records no response from the Russian officials regarding this unexpected delay of the theological debate. Unfortunately for the entire enterprise, one of its supporters, Czar Peter the Great, passed away on February 8, 1725, before this crucial step for the union of the two ecclesial communities could take place.

The news of the famous Russian monarch’s death reached the Nonjuror bishops quite soon; on March 8, 1725, they sent to Bartholomeos Cassanos a brief note²⁰⁹ written in English, announcing him that everything was

²⁰⁷ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 136.

²⁰⁸ The Greek original version was published in: Παπαδόπουλος, “Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα” cit., *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 7 (1911), 222-224 [republished in: Id., *Ἀπομεινόμενα ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας* cit., 53-55]. Also, an English translation of this document was later published in: Chrysostom of Athens, “An Unpublished Correspondence” cit., 9-10.

²⁰⁹ The English original version was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 129. This version had been previously published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Non-*

ready for the delegation's departure for Russia; however, Czar Peter's death caused this project to be temporary discontinued. Finally, after some reflection, the Nonjurors decided to send a new set of letters to Russia. Thus, on April 11, 1725, bishops Archibald Campbell, Jeremy Collier and John Griffin signed three epistles: one to metropolitan Arsenios, another to the Holy Governing Synod, and the third one to the great chancellor of Russia. The letter addressed to the Greek metropolitan²¹⁰ was originally written in English, then translated into Latin by reverend Samuel Jebb, and it was this translation that finally reached destination. The epistle addressed to the Holy Synod²¹¹ was drafted in English by bishop Archibald Campbell, then translated into Latin by the same clergyman Samuel Jebb, and this version was dispatched to Sankt Petersburg. Finally, the great chancellor received, as in the previous cases, only the English-language version.²¹² The contents of the two epistles addressed to the Russian officials can be easily summed up: the bishops extended their condolences, as well as congratulations for the accession to the throne of Czarina Catherine I (1725-1727); they also expressed their openness to new directions, and hoped that the Czarina would continue the works of Peter the Great. On the other hand, metropolitan Arsenios was informed of the decision to postpone the envisaged journey to Russia, and was asked to send news on the affair's standing in the new political context.

The three epistles were brought to Sankt Petersburg by Bartholomeos Cassanos, who arrived at his destination in early fall of 1725 at the latest, for on September 16, 1725, count Gavril Ivanovich Golovkin, great chancellor of Russia, addressed to the three British bishops an answer²¹³ written in English. Beside the thanksgivings for the kind wishes expressed

jurors cit., 355. It was subsequently republished, together with a Latin translation, in Mansi XXXVII, 585-586.

²¹⁰ The Latin original (together with its English translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 589-590. The English translation of this epistle had been previously published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 355-356; *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Non-Jurors and the Russians*), [New York: s.n., 1864], 12; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 130-131.

²¹¹ The Latin original (together with its English translation) was published in Mansi XXXVII, 587-588. The English translation of this epistle had been previously published in: Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 355; *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Non-Jurors and the Russians*), [New York: s.n., 1864], 11; Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 129.

²¹² The English-language original was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 130. It was subsequently republished, together with its Latin translation, in Mansi XXXVII, 587-588.

²¹³ The English-language original was published in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 131-132. It was subsequently republished, together with its Latin translation, in Mansi XXXVII, 589-590.

under such circumstances, the author assured them that Czarina Catherine I would attach the same importance to the issue of the union between the two Churches, as had Peter the Great.

Only at these mournfull Times your Lordships will please to have some longer Patience, till the first Opportunity I can have to represent to her Imperial Majesty of all more at large, and then I do assure you I will not fail to acquaint you thereof, and be persuaded that I shall be always ready to serve you.²¹⁴

Unfortunately, a subsequent letter announcing the Nonjurors that discussions could be resumed, was never written and sent to London.

On April 30, 1730, in a letter addressed to the Nonjuror bishop George Smith, Thomas Brett briefly summarized the entire dialogue with the Orthodox Church. An excerpt from the *postscriptum* added at the end of this epistle expressed Nonjurors' hopes for establishing ecclesial communion with the Russian Orthodox Church:

Had the Czar not died before we could send two persons to debate Matters before him and his Council, I know not how far we might have proceeded towards an Union with that part of the Greek Church which is Settled in Russia.²¹⁵

Having no place nor church in this land

The exclusive interest of Nonjuror theologians during the last part of this dialogue (1724-1725) in the relationship with the representatives of Russian Orthodoxy had manifold reasons. Firstly, the second answer of the Eastern patriarchs caused deep disappointment among the Nonjurors, tellingly expressed by bishop Jeremy Collier in his letter to bishop Thomas Brett, dated April 20, 1725:

Mr Cassano is ready to embark for Petersburgh to feel the pulse of that court with relation to the union with the Greek Church, and whether any persons from hence will be welcome there next summer. I confess by the patriarchs' answer I despair.²¹⁶

Thus, even after the death of Czar Peter the Great, from whom they had the greatest hopes, they still believed that the meeting announced and arranged since 1724 might have place in the summer of 1726. Secondly, the entire correspondence maintained with the official representatives of Russia, taking part in this dialogue, had not suggested any exclusivistic

²¹⁴ Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., 132.

²¹⁵ Knight, "Had the Czar not died" cit., 26.

²¹⁶ Langford, "The Non-Jurors" cit., 131.

position similar to that adopted by the Eastern patriarchs. The chances for reaching an amiable solution, acceptable to both parties, were thus much greater, especially since Czar Peter the Great had shown visible interest in this matter.

There was, however, another reason why the dialogue maintained with the Eastern patriarchs was discontinued without any explanations. After the second answer was sent from Constantinople to the Nonjuror Anglicans, the archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake (1716-1737), learned of their attempt to establish ecclesial communion with the Orthodox Church. This moment is recorded in a letter²¹⁷ of metropolitan Arsenios addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos on September 20, 1724:

On the fourteenth this month I received a letter from England, from the archimandrite [Gennadios] there; the letter is dated 14 August 1724, and brings me this news: that in early August letters arrived from the chaplain of the British embassy in Constantinople. The aforesaid chaplain wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, and his letter was accompanied by the documents of the British, which were sent with the assistance of the monarch and brethren here. I do not yet know, however, if these are all [documents] or part of them. They have spread the news throughout England. This matter, as they write to me, was divulged by the most venerable Jeremias. I wonder by which means and for which purpose he disclosed it. And now people are in danger of being ruined. I do not know what I can say to the people here if they hear of this. If I say it was His Grace who disclosed it, you can imagine what they will think of us. Please enquire if what has been revealed is the first statement brought by the protosyncellos and the second one which they sent here themselves; if these documents have been copied and sent to England, and how. Indeed, your Beatitude, my Lord, if these letters have been sent to England, great trouble awaits us both there and here. Everyone will hate our nation worse than they hate the Jews.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ The Greek original version was published in: Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος 7 (1911), 222-224 [republished in: Id., Ἀποπείρα ἐνώσεως τῶν Ἀγγλῶν Ἀνωμότων cit., 53-55]. An English translation of this document was published subsequently in: Chrysostom of Athens, "An Unpublished Correspondence" cit., 9-10.

²¹⁸ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος 7 (1911), 222-223: "Τῇ δεκάτῃ τετάρτῃ τοῦ παρόντος μοῦ ἦλθε γράμμα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐγκλητέρα ἀπὸ τὸν ἀρχιμανδρίτην ὁποῦ εὐρίσκεται ἐκεῖ γεγραμμένο τὸ γράμμα αὐγούστου 14, 1724, καὶ μοῦ γράφει αὐτὴν τὴν εἴδησιν πῶς εἰς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἦλθαν γράμματα ἀπὸ τὸν ἐφημέριον τοῦ ἐλτζῆ τῆς Ἐγκλητέρας ὁποῦ εὐρίσκεται εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς Καντουαρίας συντροφιασμένον τὸ γράμμα τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐφημερίου μὲ ταῖς ἀποδείξεις τῶν Ἐγκλέρων ὁποῦ σὰς ἐστάλησαν μὲ τὸ μέσον τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀδελφούς καὶ Μονάρχου. Ὅμως δὲν ἤξεύρω ἀκόμη ἂν ἴσως εἶναι τὸ καθολικὸν ἢ τὸ ἴσον. Καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν εἴδησιν τὴν ἐγέμωσεν εἰς σεῶλην τὴν Ἐγκλητέρα. Καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ὡς καθὼς μοῦ γράφουν τὴν ἐφάνέρωσεν ὁ Παναγιώτατος κύρ Ἱερεμίας. Καὶ θαυμάζομαι μὲ τί τρόπον καὶ μὲ τί τέλος τὴν ἐφάνέρωσε. Καὶ κινδυνεύουν τώρα νὰ χαλαστοῦν ἀντρώποι. Ἐγὼ δὲν ἤξεύρω τί ἀπόκρισιν θέλω νὰ δώσω τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἂν μάθουν αὐτὴν τὴν εἴδησιν. Νὰ εἰπῶ πῶς ὁ Παναγιώτατος τὴν ἐφάνέρωσε, στοχαστήτε πλέον εἰς σετὶ μέτρος θέλουν νὰ μᾶς

The Greek hierarch's words were corroborated by bishop Thomas Brett, who described the same episode in a letter he addressed to his friend, the Nonjuror bishop George Smith, on April 30, 1730:

We were surprised soon after with a pamphlet written by Mr. Lewis of Margate in this diocese, and old opponent of mine, against Mr. Collier in vindication of Bp. Burnett. For by several passages in the pamphlet we found that Mr. L. had seen what had passed between us and the Eastern patriarchs, which we could not imagine how he came by, and he made several scurrilous reflections on Mr. Collier and me on that occasion. Soon after we understood that the papers we had sent to Constantinople were now at Lambeth. It seems the patriarch of Constantinople was desirous to know who they were who called themselves the Orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches, which was the title those took who sent the proposals. And understanding that there was an English clergyman in Constantinople, chaplain to the factory, he sent for him and gave him the papers and he sent them to the Archbishop of Canterbury at whose house Mr. Lewis had sight of them. But I believe his Grace was not pleased with Mr. L.'s scurrilous treatment of Mr. Collier on the occasion and obliged him to suppress his pamphlet.²¹⁹

The polemic work of the Anglican reverend John Lewis, mentioned by bishop Thomas Brett, was published in 1724, but the dating of the [*Foreword*] to the readers pinpointed the moment even more accurately; it was drafted and completed on January 11, 1724.²²⁰ Certainly, the information and documents related to the Nonjuror theologians' actions reached the officials of the Church of England as early as 1723, which contradicts the information provided by metropolitan Arsenios, according to whom the British chaplain's letters arrived in London only in late August 1724.

Regarding the way in which these documents came to the attention of the archbishop of Canterbury, both sources we quote indicate, either im-

έχουν. Ἀνίσως καὶ εἶνε ὁρισμός σας νὰ ἐξετάξητε αὐτοῦ ἀνίσως καὶ εἶνε αἱ πρώταις ἀπόδειξαις ὅπου ἤφερεν ὁ Πρωτοσύγκελλος καὶ αἱ δεύτεραις ὅπου ἐστάλησαν μὲ τὸ χέρι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἀνίσως καὶ ταῖς ἀντίγραψαν καὶ ταῖς ἔστειλαν εἰς τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα, καὶ μὲ τὸ τέλος ἐστάλησαν. Ὅμως, Δέσποτά μου Μακαριώτατε, ἀνίσως καὶ ἐστάλησαν αὐτὰ τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα μεγάλη σύγχυσις θέλει νὰ γένη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα καὶ εἰς ἐτοῦτα τὰ μέρη. Καὶ τέλος πάντων θέλουν μισκῆσι τὸ γένος μας χειρότερα παρὰ τοὺς ἑβραίους."

²¹⁹ Langford, "The Non-Jurors" cit., 130.

²²⁰ [John Lewis], *A Specimen of the Gross Errors in the Second Volume of Mr. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Being a Vindication of the Right Reverend and Learned Dr. Gilbert Burnet, late Bishop of Sarum, from the several Reflections made on Him and his History of the Reformation, in the several Places of it noted in a late Advertisement in the Evening Post, No. 2254*, [London]: sold by J. Roberts, 1724, 60 p. Indeed, the author had access at least to the documents addressed by the Nonjurors to the Eastern Church, for he mentioned the title employed by bishop Jeremy Collier in signing most of this correspondence (p. 11), as well as the *Overtures made to a Patriarch of the Greek Church* (p. 59).

plicitly or explicitly, the fact that patriarch Jeremias III approached the Anglican chaplain in Constantinople, in order to collect information about the dialogue partners, thus providing the latter with all the documents received from the Nonjurors. However, behind the authority of the ecumenical patriarch, it is very likely that patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem was the one who dealt with all the details of the relationship with the Church of England.²²¹ The main argument in support of this hypothesis is the fact that he took upon himself the drafting of the first document on behalf of the Eastern patriarchs, as an answer to Nonjurors' proposals. His interest in this matter is also demonstrated by the correspondence he maintained at the time with metropolitan Arsenios, who was best acquainted with the details of the affair. Secondly, compared to patriarch Jeremias III, the contacts of patriarch Chrysanthos with the British ecclesiastical milieus were much tighter. Thus, as early as 1715, he had engaged a dialogue with the British ambassador to Constantinople, Robert Sutton, through whom he had sent a copy of the Latin translation of the theological treatise *De processione Spiritus Sancti a solo Patre* by Adam Zoernikav, for the library of University of Oxford. He also sent four other volumes (probably works of his own) through *protosyncellos* James to the Nonjuror theologians, and they thanked him in a brief note dated July 13, 1724. Then William Wake, the archbishop of Canterbury himself, thanked him in a letter of September 6, 1725 for "the books you kindly sent to me (*libros quos ad me mittere dignatus es*)."²²² The letter of Markos Nomikos, the messenger of patriarch Chrysanthos, addressed to archbishop William Wake in February 1725, mentioned that he had offered three volumes (for which the Anglican clergyman thanked the patriarch), and would soon bring to him "some manuscripts of moment."²²³ Thirdly, the relationships between

²²¹ This working hypothesis was first put forth in: Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* cit., XXXIX-XLI. The author was mainly interested in identifying the path taken by some of the Greek manuscripts now held by the *Christ Church* library in Oxford, however without undertaking a thorough investigation of the entire context.

²²² Runciman (*The Great Church in Captivity* cit., 318; "The British Non-Jurors and the Russian Church" cit., 160) considered that the archbishop of Canterbury had thanked patriarch Chrysanthos for Adam Zoernikav's book, sent to the University of Oxford library in 1715. Markos Nomikos, however, pointed out in his letter of February 1725 that he had brought three volumes to the archbishop, following his two journeys to Constantinople.

²²³ Unfortunately, this epistle of Markos Nomikos of February 1725 has never been published. One of these *manuscripts of moment* promised to the archbishop of Canterbury must have been manuscript Gr. 82 now held by the *Christ Church* archives in Oxford, which contains a partial collection of the documents comprising the Nonjurors' correspondence with the Orthodox Church: the proposals put forth by the Nonjuror theologians (1716), the answer given by the Eastern patriarchs (1718), the letters exchanged by William Wake and patriarch Chrysanthos in this respect (1725-1727) as well as a brief confession of the Eastern

patriarch Chrysanthos and Thomas Payne,²²⁴ the chaplain of the British embassy and of *Levant Company*, intensified during this period, as prove the two epistles (yet unpublished, and held by the library archives of the Holy Sepulchre metochion in Constantinople) addressed by the Anglican clergyman on July 14, 1724 (from Italy), respectively June 6, 1726 (from Pera), to the patriarch of Jerusalem.²²⁵ The friendship between the Anglican chaplain and the Orthodox patriarch determined the latter to describe him in extremely favorable terms to the archbishop of Canterbury in his letter of January 1727:

Mr. Thomas Payne (found by the distinguished ambassador here, as one known to us as a honest, venerable and faithful servant and a fervent admirer of Your

Church's faith (Ἐκθεσις σύντομος καὶ κεφαλαιώδης τῶν ἱερῶν ὀρθοτήτων καὶ δογμάτων τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας). See: G.W. Kitchin, *Catalogus Codicum Mss. qui in Bibliotheca Aedis Christi apud Oxonienses*, Oxonii: Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1867, 30; Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* cit., XL-XLI.

²²⁴ Information on the life and work of reverend Thomas Payne (1688/9-1759) is extremely scarce: he attended *Magdalene College, University of Cambridge* (1705-1713); he was a chaplain of Great Britain's embassy, respectively the *Levant Company*, between 1718-1736 (probably intermittently); he was also a rector of the Anglican community of High Halden (Kent), between 1713-1759 (with interruptions caused by his diplomatic mission in Constantinople). See: John Venn, J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Time to 1900*, part I (*From the Earliest Time to 1751*), vol. III (Kaile-Ryves), Cambridge: University Press, 1924, 324; David Wilson, *List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories, from the sixteenth century to about 1860*, 2011, 12 ([http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey\(1581-1860\)-D_Wilson.pdf](http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey(1581-1860)-D_Wilson.pdf); 14/07/2012). In 1731, he brought from Constantinople to archbishop William Wake a set of 14 Greek manuscripts, containing exclusively the texts of the Gospels, all of them now held by the *Christ Church Library* in Oxford. See: Frederick H.A. Scrivener, *Adversaria critica sacra: with a Short Explanatory Introduction*, Cambridge: University Press, 1893, XXXIII. One of his sermons is also available: Thomas Payne, *Sermon Preach'd Before the Right Worshipful the Deputy Governour and the Company of Merchants Trading to the Levant Seas, at the St. Peter's Poor in Broadstreet, May 13, 1718*, London: printed for Timothy Childe, 1718. For details on this chaplain's relationship with archbishop William Wake, his activity in Constantinople and his ecumenical relations, see: Jacques Gres-Gayer, *Paris-Cantorbéry (1717-1720). Le dossier d'un premier œcuménisme*, Préface du Dr Robert Runcie, coll. *Textes, dossiers, documents* 13, Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1989, 207-212 (letter of William Wake to William Beauvoir, September 10, 1718), 217-221 (letter of William Beauvoir to William Wake, September 17, 1718), 231-233 (letter of William Beauvoir to William Wake, October 4, 1718); Nigel Webb, Caroline Webb, *The Earl and His Butler in Constantinople. The Secret Diary of an English Servant among the Ottomans*, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009, 26, 73, 76-77, 115, 132, 134, 143-145, 148-149, 154-155, 159, 162-163, 165, 167, 170, 178, 180, 190, 192; Ovidiu Olar, "L'histoire impossible. Autour d'une lettre du révérend Thomas Payne (Constantinople, 3/14 mars 1735)," in: *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, VI, recueillies et publiées par Emilian Popescu, Tudor Teoteoi et Mihai Ovidiu Cătoi, București: Editura Academiei Române, 2011, 403-426.

²²⁵ Legrand, *Épistolaire grec* cit., XII; Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* cit., XL.

Excellency, we require with spiritual audaciousness Your benevolence and support and further guidance, in due time, towards a higher dignity).²²⁶

The Phanariot ruler of Wallachia, Nicholas Mavrocordatos (1716; 1719-1730), was also aware of the two clergymen's closeness and mentioned it in a letter addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos on July 14, 1723:

I witnessed in Neochori Your Beatitude's exchange with the venerable ambassador of the British. We also have correspondence with an archbishop of Canterbury, named William, and write to each other. He is one of the local authorities and has even sent to us a few books, and according to many he seems to be a philo-Greek.²²⁷

According to prince Nicholas Mavrocordatos, this encounter between the patriarch of Jerusalem and chaplain Thomas Payne (the author doubtless meant this clergyman, not Great Britain's ambassador at the *Sublime Porte*, Abraham Stanyan, 1718-1730) took place in the town of Neochori (today's Yeniköy, located on the European shore of Bosphorus, between Istinye and Tarabya), which had an Orthodox community depending jurisdictionally on the Holy Sepulchre church in Jerusalem. The chronological overlapping of this encounter (early 1723) and the moment when reverend John Lewis must have consulted the documents sent by Nonjurors to the Eastern patriarchs to the residence of the archbishop of Canterbury prior to January 1724 supports this hypothesis. The last argument in favor of this hypothesis is a paragraph inserted at the end of the correspondence *dossier*, written by bishop Thomas Brett and kept among the manuscripts of bishop Alexander Jolly (currently held by the *National Archive of Scotland* in Edinburgh):

²²⁶ Mansi XXXVII, 597: "[...] κύριος Θωμάς Πάην (Payne) (ὅστις ὡς γνωσθεὶς παρ' ἡμῶν τίμιος καὶ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ πιστὸς θεράπων ἐν τῷ ὀφφικίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐξοχότητος διαπρύσιος ἐγκωμιαστής, παρακαλοῦμεν θάρρει πνευματικῶ, ὅπως ἔχη καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῆς εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ ὑπεράσπισιν καὶ ἔτι προβίβασιν ἐν καιρῷ προσφῶρ μείζονος βαθμοῦ), [...]."

²²⁷ Émile Legrand, *Épistolaire grec ou recueil de lettres adressées pour la plupart à Chrysanthos Notaras, patriarche de Jérusalem, par les princes de Valachie et de Moldavie*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclerc, 1888, 173: "Εἶδομεν ποίαν συνομιλίαν κάμνει ἡ ὑμετέρα μακαριότης ἐν Νεοχωρίῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ πρέσβεως τῶν Ἀγγλῶν. Ἔχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς κορρεσπονδέντζαν μετὰ τινος ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καντουαρίας ὀνόματι Βιλχέλμους, καὶ γράφομεν ἀλλήλοις ἀμοιβαδόν· ὅστις εἶναι εἰς τῶν ἐκεῖσε προϋχόντων καὶ μᾶς ἔστειλε μάλιστα καὶ μερικὰ βιβλία, καὶ φαίνεται ἐκ πολλῶν σημείων ὅτι εἶναι φιλέλλην." The same letter has been published in: *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. XIV.2 (*Documente grecești privitoare la Istoria Românilor, publicate după originale, copiile Academiei Române și tipărituri de N. Iorga. 1716-1777*), București: Atelierele grafice SOCEC & Comp., 1917, 884-887 (no. DCCCLIX). Also, for the relationship between the prince Nicholas Mavrocordatos and the archbishop William Wake, see: Jean Gouillard, "O scrisoare inedită a lui William Wake, arhiepiscop de Canterbury, către Nicolae Mavrocordat," *Revista istorică* 29 (1943), 7-12, 229-233.

Not only the death of the Czar, put a stop to the much desired union between the Greek Church and British Nonjurors, but likewise the indiscretion of the Patriarch of Jerusalem in writing to Wake then Archbishop of Canterbury, and sending copies of proposals to him & c. quite knocked that scheme in the head. Wake behaved with great prudence and discretion in the case, not exposing the papers nor suffering them to be ridiculed.²²⁸

Thus, the *patriarch of Constantinople* who took direct part in exposing the Nonjuror theologians for the officials of the Church of England may have actually been patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem, residing in Constantinople at the time.²²⁹

The first mention among Nonjurors' documents, concerning the moment when their actions were revealed to the officials of the Church of England, appeared only in a letter which bishop Thomas Brett addressed to bishop Archibald Campbell on the Pentecost Sunday of 1725; the author stated *that Patriarch has given just Occasion to write no more to the Greeks*.²³⁰ Not only had the archbishop of Canterbury learned of the affair, and John Lewis had hinted to it in his brochure published in 1724, but apparently the entire dossier of the correspondence maintained with the Eastern patriarchs became known and started to circulate among the British interested in the relationship with the Orthodox Church. Thus, in a letter which the Nonjuror reverend Samuel Jebb sent bishop Thomas Brett on November 17, 1729 he mentioned that some copies of the documents were held by the vicar of Walthamstow (Essex), Edward Chishull, a former chaplain of the British consulate in Smyrna between 1698-1702:

I lately made a visit to my very learned and worthy neighbour, Mr Chisul, and was surprised to see in his hands copies of our Greek papers, which had been transmitted to him from Constantinople. He designs with the leave of the Archbishop of Canterbury to publish them at the end of a large work he is preparing upon the subject of the Greek Church, if he lives to finish it. I suppose you know he passed many years in the East as chaplain to the factory at Smyrna.²³¹

²²⁸ Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors* cit., 357-358.

²²⁹ For further details on the life and work of this patriarch of Jerusalem, see: Ἀρχιμ. Κάλιστος, "Οἱ Πατριάρχαι Χρύσανθος (1707-1731) καὶ Μελέτιος (1731-1737) καὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀγίων Τόπων," *Νέα Σιών* 24 (1929), 5, 257-270; Id., "Ὁ Πατριάρχης Χρύσανθος (1707-1731) καὶ ἡ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνακαίνισις τοῦ Ναοῦ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως (1719-1720)," *Νέα Σιών* 24 (1929), 6, 354-372; 24 (1929), 7, 427-435; Id., "Ὁ Πατριάρχης Χρύσανθος (1707-1731)," *Νέα Σιών* 24 (1929), 8, 482-496; Χ.Γ. Πατρινέλης, "Χρύσανθος ὁ Νοταρᾶς," in: *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεΐα*, 12^{ος} τομος (Φυλ. διακρίσεις - Ωφελιμισμός), Αθήνα: [s.n.], 1968, 387-390; Πηνελόπη Στάθη, *Χρύσανθος Νοταρᾶς, Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων: πρόδρομος τοῦ νεοελληνικοῦ διαφωτισμοῦ*, coll. *Ανάλεκτα τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ανατολῆς* 6, Αθήνα: [σύνδεσμος τῶν ἐν Αθήναις Μεγαλοσχιολιτῶν], 1999.

²³⁰ Knight, "Had the Czar not died" cit., 24.

²³¹ Langford, "The Non-Jurors" cit., 131.

Although it is certain that archbishop William Wake learned of these union negotiations towards the end of 1723 at the latest, his first official response was recorded considerably later, in a letter²³² addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos on September 6, 1725:

And now, on writing these things to your Eminence, I cannot in any way leave out what I heard one year ago from one of my priests, who is still among our merchants in Constantinople: namely, some schismatic priests of our Church wrote to you under false titles of archbishop and bishops of the Anglican Church, and sought Your communion with them, who, having no place nor church in this land, strived to beguile You, who ignored their schism. About their true standing and the cause of their schism, You shall learn more from my faithful priest, Sir Thomas Payne, who shall tell Your Eminence how wrongly they separated from us, and how they suddenly forgot the loyalty due to His Majesty the King, and the obedience due to their bishops, and how they broke the unity of the Church, only because we decided to abide by the country's laws and honour him as our sovereign, the one who our [Houses], of the Lords and Commons, as well as kings and states of the entire Europe, have acknowledged as King, and to whom the country's laws and the consent of all our orders have entrusted the imperial sovereignty of Britain, the sole who has the right to decide on such matters. For this reason some of our clergy, and fewer of our bishops, have thought it proper to separate from us; they have tempted the people to their side; they have established parishes outside the Church; and they finally reached such madness, that upon the death of the first schism instigators, they ordained themselves bishops to succeed the deceased ones. These are the men who dared to write to You. These are the men who strived to tear You away from the communion of our Church; as I hear, one of them, usurping my title and authority, has not dared, indeed, to call himself archbishop of Canterbury, but introduced himself by the new title of *πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον*. I ask and urge Your Eminence to wisely avoid these people from now on.²³³

²³² The Latin-language original was published in: Williams, *Yearnings after Unity* cit., 24-26. The same Latin version, accompanied by an English translation, had been previously published in: *Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee*, No. II (*Correspondence of the Non-Jurors and the Russians*), [New York: s.n., 1864], 13-16. Also, a slightly improved English translation, was republished in: Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East* cit., LV-LVIII; Norman Sykes, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury (1657-1737)*, vol. II, Cambridge: University Press, 1957, 179-180. Finally, the Latin original, accompanied by a Greek translation, is available in Mansi XXXVII, 591-594.

²³³ Williams, *Yearnings after Unity* cit., 25-26: "Dum vero haec ad Paternitatem tuam illustrissimam scribo, nullo modo praeterire debeo, quod ante annum ab uno presbyterorum meorum, qui adhuc cum mercatoribus nostris Constantinopoli agit, accepi: Schismaticos scilicet quosdam ecclesiae nostrae sacerdotes, sub ementitis archiepiscopi atque episcoporum ecclesiae Anglicanae nominibus, ad vos scripsisse, vestramque communionem cum iis quesivisse; qui nullum locum aut ecclesiam in his terris habentes, ad vos schismatis ipsorum ignaros decipiendos animum appulerunt. Quis sit horum hominum status, quae schismatis causa, a fidei illo presbytero meo, domino Thoma Payne, plenius cognosces. Ille Paternitati tuae referet, quam inique a nobis secesserint; et quomodo, eodem tempore, et a Regia Maiestate

Thus, although in this epistle archbishop Wake declared himself to be shocked at the Nonjuror theologians' presumption to usurp his title and their attempt to achieve communion with the Eastern Church, he had not previously take any action in order to expose the affair. On the contrary, when John Lewis directly attacked the Nonjuror bishop Jeremy Collier, making use of this information among others, the archbishop of Canterbury ordered that the booklet be withdrawn and its sale discontinued. Then, during the first part of 1725 he even briefly exchanged some letters with metropolitan Arsenios, then in Moscow, who had asked him to send a copy of the *Septuagint*. The answer of archbishop William Wake dated May 4, 1725, which reached Moscow together with the volume required by the Greek hierarch, contained no reference to this matter.²³⁴ Moreover, one of his close collaborators, who provided him with all the necessary information regarding the Gallican Church between 1724-1730, was the Nonjuror theologian Thomas Baker, residing in Cambridge.²³⁵

Thus, the only argument able to account for the archbishop of Canterbury's belated response upon discovering the correspondence maintained by Nonjuror theologians and the Eastern patriarchs, lies in the extreme religious tolerance manifest by William Wake during his two-decade term as a bishop (1716-1737). A *philo-Greek*, as Nicholas Mavrocordatos described

debitam fidelitatem, et ab Episcopis suis obedientiam suam subduxerint, ecclesiaeque unitatem eo solo nomine violaverint, quod legibus regni parendum esse censuimus; quod illum pro Rege colendum existimavimus, quem procures ac populus, quem totius Europae principes atque respublicae, Regem esse agnoverint, cuique imperium Britannicum jura regni, omniumque inter nos ordinum consensus, ad quos de his rebus statuendi potestas unice spectat, detulissent. Hinc de clero pauci, de episcopis pauciores, a nobis secedendum censuerunt. De populo plures in partes suas sollicitarunt; conventus separatim ab ecclesia instituerunt: eoque tandem insaniae pervenerunt, ut decidentibus primis hujus schismatis auctoribus, novos in locum eorum successuros episcopos sibi consecraverint. Hi sunt qui ad vos scribere ausi sunt. Hi qui vos ab ecclesiae nostrae Communione seducere conati sunt. Quorum unus, ut audio, locum atque auctoritatem meam sibi arripiens, non quidem se Cantuariensem archiepiscopum appellare sustinuit, sed novo titulo πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον nominavit. Ab his, ut porro cavere sobrii pergatis, paternitatem tuam oro atque obtestor."

²³⁴ The two letters, yet unpublished, are held by the *Christ Church* archive in Oxford (*Arch. W. Epist.* 26, ff. 273-274): Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* cit., XL.

²³⁵ The letters sent by archbishop William Wake to Thomas Baker are held by the *Christ Church* archives (*Arch. W. Epist.* 11, ff. 189-197) and, respectively, *Bodleian Library* (*Engl. Hist.* 1, ff. 77-80), both in Oxford. Information collected from: Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* cit., XL, n. 95. For details on Thomas Baker's life and activity, see: Overton, *The Nonjurors* cit., 189-195; Frans Korsten, *A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Baker*, Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Also, the complete correspondence between archbishop William Wake and the representatives of the Gallican Church was published in: Leonard Adams (ed.), *William Wake's Gallican Correspondence and Related Documents, 1716-1731*, 7 vols., coll. *American University Studies. Series VII: Theology and Religion* 26/1-2, 55, 56, 57, 58, 134, New York / Bern / Frankfurt am Main / Paris: Peter Lang, 1988-1993.

him, archbishop Wake also engaged in an attempt to achieve union with the French Roman-Catholics (the Gallican Church), as well as another project envisaging the overcoming of the *slight differences* still separating the Lutherans and Reformed from the Anglican Church.²³⁶ Compared to these enterprises of European scope, the minor problems caused by the Nonjurors in his own ecclesiastical jurisdiction could be ignored for a while. It was only when he had the opportunity to start a correspondence with patriarch Chrysanthos, in order to thank him for the volumes he had sent, and encourage him in his attempt to oppose the Latins' errors, that archbishop Wake remembered about Nonjurors' presumptuousness and revealed to one of those directly concerned with these negotiations, the schismatic stance of the Nonjurors as well as the risks entailed by a possible communion established with them. On the other hand, this moment was also delayed because the second answer sent to Nonjurors by the Eastern patriarchs offered them no chance of reaching the envisaged intercommunion through negotiations.²³⁷

On the other hand, patriarch Chrysanthos was not very prompt in sending an answer, but it was only on January 19, 1927, at his metochion in Constantinople, that he signed a letter²³⁸ addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake. The patriarch of Jerusalem made the following comments about the correspondence with the Nonjuror Anglicans:

Regarding the illegitimate bishops, of whom you wrote to us and who cunningly enquired about the statements of the faith of our Holy Church of Christ, although prior to Your letter we were informed on this matter by the reverend

²³⁶ See: Norman Sykes, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury (1657-1737)*, vol. II, Cambridge: University Press, 1957, 1-88; Martin I. Klauber, *Between Reformed Scholasticism and Pan-Protestantism: Jean-Alphonse Turretin (1671-1737) and Enlightened Orthodoxy at the Academy of Geneva*, Selinsgrove / London / Cranbury NJ: Susquehanna University Press / Associated University Presses, 1994, 165-187; Maria-Cristina Pitassi, "Nonobstant ces petites différences: enjeux et présupposés d'un projet d'union intraprotestante au début du XVIII^e siècle," in: *La tolérance. Colloque international de Nantes, mai 1998. Quatrième centenaire de l'Edit de Nantes*, sous la direction de Guy Saupin, Rémy Fabre, Marcel Launay, Rennes / Nantes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes / Centre de recherche sur l'histoire du monde atlantique, 1999, 419-426.

²³⁷ Regrettably, there is no mention regarding the rich correspondence maintained by the Nonjuror theologians with the representatives of political authority and the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church between 1723-1725. It is very likely that patriarch Chrysanthos presented to chaplain Thomas Payne the long way of the documents via London-Moscow/Sankt Petersburg-Constantinople and back. The fact that the archbishop of Canterbury does not mention this episode proves either that he anticipated the failure of these negotiations following the death of czar Peter the Great, or that he was aware of the fact that in the Orthodox world, church union could not be unilaterally negotiated by a single local Church.

²³⁸ The Greek-language original, together with its Latin translation, was published in Mansi XXXVII, 595-598.

father, Mr. Thomas Payne [...]. Your letter warned us once more, but more thoroughly and more accurately, on the entire truth concerning the way they infiltrated and they broke communion with you, removing the ignorance and doubts we had before. Although some time ago we were involved by them and unaware of their cunningness, we deemed them to be worthy of an answer, we think that no criticism justly directed against us by well-meaning persons has caused us to fail. For we had to answer those people once, to comply with the old apostolic practice of the Church, and follow he who says: *Always be prepared to give an answer* [1 Peter 3, 15]; and *Whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached* [Philippians 1, 18]. Even if they wrongly dared to address questions to us, they needed however to be told they were wrong; for their goal was to confirm and know the truth.²³⁹

Surprisingly, although the matter had been closed even since 1725, both by official exposure following the letter sent by the archbishop of Canterbury to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and by discontinuing *sine die* the correspondence between Nonjurors and the officials of Sankt Petersburg, however, even after patriarch Chrysanthos' answer addressed to archbishop William Wake, the matter was still debated by the Orthodox involved. Thus, a letter which metropolitan Arsenios sent from Russia to patriarch Chrysanthos on February 24, 1728,²⁴⁰ reveals the latest echoes of the matter. The Greek hierarch, who had just received from Constantinople a copy of the letter sent by the archbishop of Canterbury in September 1725, tried to exonerate himself and answer the possible accusations directed against him, as the one who had mediated the affair and should have warned the Eastern patriarchs about the Nonjurors' jurisdictional situation:

Only the letter from the archbishop of Canterbury is still preserved, the one writ-

²³⁹ Mansi XXXVII, 595, 597: "Περὶ δὲ τῶν αὐτόθεν γραψάντων ἡμῖν πρότερον παρεισάκτων ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἐν ἀπάτῃ ἐξαιτησαμένων τοὺς ὅμους τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας, εἰ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γράμματος αὐτῆς διηγῆσατο καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῷ ἐξοχωτάτῳ πρέσβει ἐνταῦθα εὐρισκόμενος αἰδέσιμος πρεσβύτερος κύριος Θωμᾶς Πάην (Payne) [...], ἔμπης παρὰ τοῦ γράμματος αὐτῆς ἀναμαθόντες ἤδη ἀκριβέστερον καὶ πληρέστερον τὴν ἅπασαν ἀλήθειαν, τὸν τε τρόπον τῆς προσελεύσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπερρηγμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμῶν κοινωνίας κατάστασιν, ἀπηλλάγημεν τῆς ἥς ἐτυχάνομεν ἔχοντες ἀμφιβολίας καὶ ἀγνοίας τὸ πρῖν. Πλὴν εἰ καὶ παρὰ τοιούτων ὅπως ποτὲ ἐσκευωρήθημεν καὶ τὴν κατὰ ἀπάτην ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιγνόντες ἀποκρίσεως αὐτοὺς ἠξιώσαμεν, ἔμπης παρὰ τοῖς εὐφρονοῦσιν οὐδεμίαν ἐκ τούτου μέμψιν δικαίαν καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς νομίζομεν, ἐπεσπασάμεθα· ἔδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς καθάπαξ ἀποκριθῆναι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀποστολικὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποπληροῦντας, καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ λέγοντι· Ἔσεσθε ἔτοιμοι εἰς ἀπολογία καὶ· Εἴτε ἀληθεῖα εἴτε προφάσει Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται. Ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνοι, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ λόγον τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀξίωσιν τετολμήκασιν, συγγνωστέοι ἔμπης τῆς τοιαύτης παρατροπῆς· ὁ γὰρ σκοπὸς αὐτῶν οὐ πρὸς ἄλλο ἦν, ἀλλ' εἰς βεβαίωσιν καὶ γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας."

²⁴⁰ The Greek original was published in: Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος 7 (1911), 224-225 [republished in: Id., Ἀποπεῖρα ἐνώσεως τῶν Ἀγγλῶν Ἀνωμότων cit., 55-56]. Also, an English translation of this document was subsequently republished in: Chrysostom of Athens, "An Unpublished Correspondence" cit., 10-11.

ing about the bishops that had no eparchies. This is the truth. I was not interested in those bishops but my only thought was to complete and build a church, because while I was in England, many people would ask me to be received in the Orthodox Church.²⁴¹

The lack of interest in the affair, which metropolitan Arsenios claims in this answer, is at least bizarre and can only be interpreted as a final desperate attempt to justify his deeds. Thus, according to his own words, he had only sought to take advantage of the Nonjurors so that they should help him to build a place of worship in London, which was absolutely necessary to the mixed Orthodox community there. It is, however, obvious that such explanation would be deemed as extremely feeble by whoever knew the Anglican ecclesiastical milieu of early 18th century, and was thus aware that all the institutional means able to put into practice the project of metropolitan Arsenios were in the hands of the bishops of the Church of England, not at all those of the Nonjuror theologians.

Conclusions

Beside all the chronological details, re-arranged and investigated above, this ample text must conclude by putting forth answers to a number of questions raised by this topic. The first set of questions concerns those most deeply involved in these ecumenical conversations: Which was the actual goal of metropolitan Arsenios' acts that successively engaged the Eastern Patriarchates, as a decision-making ecclesiastical body, as well as Czar Peter the Great, as a political factor, one of the most prominent political figures in the Orthodox world of early 18th century? On the other hand, which were the concrete expectations of the Anglican Nonjuror bishops from this theological dialogue? Finally, how did patriarch Chrysanthos' perception of the Nonjurors evolve, from the moment when he drafted the first theological answer, to his becoming the man in the shadow who exposed them, either unawarely or intentionally?

A close examination of metropolitan Arsenios' behaviour, since his first appearance (1712) to his last epistle concerning this matter, addressed to patriarch Chrysanthos (1728), is unfortunately unable to grasp all aspects of his personality: on the one hand, he was willing to self-sacrifice in order

²⁴¹ Παπαδόπουλος, "Ἀλεξανδρινὰ Σημειώματα" cit., Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος 7 (1911), 224: "Μόνον τὸ γράμμα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καντουαρίας ἀπόμεινεν γερὸ καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅπου γράφει διὰ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς πῶς εἶνε χωρὶς ἐπαρχίαν. Αὐτὸ εἶναι ἀλήθεια. Ἐμένα ἡ γνώμη μου δὲν ἦταν δι' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, μόνον ἡ γνώμη μου ἦταν διὰ νὰ τελειωθῇ καὶ νὰ θεμελιωθῇ καμία ἐκκλησία, ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὅπου ἤμουν εἰς τὴν Ἐνγκλητέρα πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τὸν λαὸν ἦλθαν εἰς τοῦ λόγου μου, διὰ νὰ τοὺς κάμω συγκαινωνοὺς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας."

to solve the financial crisis undergone by the Patriarchate of Alexandria and journey through Europe in order to collect the necessary funds; but on the other hand, he unjustifiedly delayed the moment of his departure; when he learned that the conflict of patriarch Samuel Kapasoules and metropolitan Cosmas of Claudiopolis had been settled, he surprisingly chose to stay in England, then to go to the court of Czar Peter the Great, rather than return to Alexandria; his option to promote the dialogue with the Nonjuror Anglicans, despite their unclear jurisdictional status, of which he was certainly aware, is at least suspicious; also, his choice to report regularly to patriarch Chrysanthos and not to the patriarch of Alexandria raises doubts about his lack of interest in the moment of his return to Egypt. To all these legitimate questions, metropolitan Arsenios provides a single answer: the project of building a church for the Orthodox community in London. Could the Greek hierarch have been so naive to believe that his plan might benefit from the support of Nonjurors, themselves a minority faction in conflict with the ecclesiastical and political authorities of Great Britain? The only possible answer is negative, and the single explanation for his actions must be found in the realities of the Orthodox world. It is more than obvious that he attempted by all possible means to demonstrate before the most prominent figures of Orthodoxy (the Eastern patriarchs) the good relations he had established in the Anglican realm, proposing an attractive project of church union, however intentionally concealing Nonjurors' canonical status. He also sought to consolidate his position by approaching Czar Peter I of Russia, whom he directly engaged in the union negotiations. In due time, all these schemes would probably gain metropolitan Arsenios one of the patriarchal sees of the East. This plan for a triumphal return to the East did not contradict the goal he claimed countless times, namely the building of an Orthodox worship place in England, and with this view the financial support from the Russian Czar was more than necessary. What Nonjurors might have added by their own means or relations would facilitate the second desideratum of metropolitan Arsenios.

In order to formulate a coherent and plausible answer concerning the intentions and interests of the Nonjuror theologians in their dialogue with the Eastern Church, we must analyze the broader context of their activity. Nonjurors' interest in the Orthodox world is not surprising, since following the Reformation in Western Europe during the first part of the 16th century, both the Protestant Churches and the Church of England, turned to Constantinople, which was perceived as an alternative ecclesiastical authority to Rome. So much the stronger must have been the wish of such religious faction that had decided to separate from the ecclesial body of the Church of England, to establish a dialogue with an authentic guarantor of

the apostolic Church. This return to the ideal model of Christian community, epitomized in the first centuries in the Church history, was the main motivation for all the Churches separated from Rome. As for the Nonjuror Anglicans, this idea is tellingly expressed in their proposal of granting the patriarchal see in Jerusalem the highest ranking within the Church. Also, the Nonjuror's preference for discussing matters of ritual, the symbolism of every gesture, could have found an important source of inspiration in the rich worship practices of the Eastern Church. Despite all these compelling reasons, the result was not the one they had anticipated at the beginning of this dialogue: their straightforward approach in the *proposals* put forth to the Eastern patriarchs demonstrate that they sought to stir theological debates, so that every controversial point would be better argued. Although they had split from the Roman Church, their thought (and by extrapolation, of all Protestant and Anglican Christians) still evinced a strong penchant for clear, well-argued definitions, reminiscences of scholastic theology. Even the well-known *openness* of Anglican theology was unable to stifle this attitude, so that Nonjurors still perceived the veneration of Saints, icons or relics as genuine superstition. Also, the strict observance of old traditions, based mainly on their long-standing history, certainly appeared to be at least questionable to the Nonjuror theologians. This theological dialogue clearly demonstrates that the two standpoints belong to different worlds, not yet ready to accept each other. Finally, as far as methodology is concerned, we note a radical difference in approaching the relationship with the *other*. On the one hand, Nonjurors constantly evinced real openness to a well-argued dialogue, however with a slight tendency to negotiate in the negative sense of the term, while the Eastern patriarchs expressed their position clearly and expected those who sought ecclesiastical communion to comply. Obviously, a firm approach, yet open to subsequent clarifications, with no patronizing undertones suggesting to their partners that compliance was mandatory, might have led to a concrete result. Under these circumstances, Nonjurors' willingness for dialogue met a dogmatically correct stance — however too exclusivistic, and thus failure to reach agreement became obvious to both parties.

Regarding patriarch Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, he was one of the key figures of this theological dialogue. A brief analysis of his position towards the Nonjuror theologians reveals his ambiguous attitude: on the one hand, he accepted, alongside the other Eastern patriarchs, to answer and take active part in the correspondence maintained with them; on the other hand, he was the one who presented their plans to the Anglican chaplain of Great Britain's embassy and the *Levant Company* in Constantinople, much later. What can account for this change in his attitude? Why did he not ask for

details concerning the Nonjurors' canonical status as early as 1717, when the union proposals reached Constantinople? The very title they assumed should have raised a red flag to patriarch Chrysanthos about his dialogue partners. Could he expect a possible reversal of the political situation in Great Britain, bringing about the Jacobites' victory, which in the ecclesiastical realm would have restored the Nonjuror theologians? This is one of the most plausible hypotheses accounting for the Eastern patriarchs' decision to start a dialogue with a partner about whom they sought little information, except for the brief dogmatic statements already presented to them. Beside the obligation to observe the *old apostolic practice of the Church*, namely to answer any request concerning the faith, their decision to draft an answer to these proposals was certainly rooted in the shared adversity of both parties against the aggressive propaganda undertaken by Rome. On the other hand, the markedly patronizing tone and the firmness in expressing the Orthodox position, evinced in both answers sent by the Eastern patriarchs, are direct consequences of the *Cyrillos Loukaris* case. After all controversies and Synods caused by the important issue of Loukaris' *confession* throughout the 17th century, no Orthodox patriarch was willing to sign an ambiguous document, that might have been interpreted in two different religious directions. Finally, when theological negotiations were obviously failing and political change in Great Britain had been expected in vain, patriarch Chrysanthos decided to make the entire correspondence known to the authorities of the Church of England: if nothing was to be gained from this dialogue, why not prove his loyalty to an extremely influent player in the diplomatic context of Constantinople (its ambassador and chaplain at the *Sublime Porte*)? Thus, the attitude of the patriarch of Jerusalem took into account all the factors governing this conversation, from the political situation to theological divergences, from diplomacy to pragmatism.

Why did this project of ecclesial communion fail? Firstly, we easily note that there was no capacity to deal with theological issues, which were under the pressure exerted by manifold external factors. Despite the contextual mutual gains (fight against the Roman propaganda) or personal gains, with insufficient information or arguments, both parties evinced a stereotypical, biased thinking. Thus, the Nonjurors deemed the Orthodox to be too fond of retrograde superstitions (veneration of icons, Saints, angels, etc.), similar to those they usually reproached to the Roman-Catholic Church, while the Orthodox patriarchs perceived their dialogue partners as *Luthero-Calvinists*. The Nonjuror Anglicans sought indirect legitimacy through the authority of Constantinople, which deemed them as viable dialogue partners, while the Orthodox patriarchs sought to benefit from the diplomatic and

possibly financial influence of the Protestant states' ambassadors to the *Sublime Porte*, however without any concessions regarding their faith. This ambiguity caused the natural attraction felt by the Reformed Churches, including the Church of England, towards Orthodoxy to gradually vanish during the 18th century. Another element missing in the dialogue between the Nonjurors and the Orthodox Church was a necessary ecclesiological approach to the matter of union. Thus, none of the partners stressed a fundamental ecclesiological notion such as the apostolic succession, as an essential trait of the Church of Christ. Unfortunately, theological conversations were marked by dogmatic dissent, according to the medieval model of the polemic texts *Contra errores Graecorum / Latinorum* (as the case might be), promoted by the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439) or the Protestant Reformation. Therefore actual dialogue of the two Christian worlds, freed from medieval stereotypes, remained an utopia, a fictional project, the legacy inherited by future generations.

However, despite all these intrigues, both in the consciousness of Nonjurors (by extrapolation the Anglicans) and in that of the Orthodox, this direct encounter between the two religious traditions also had positive results. Clearly, both partners understood which were the theological divergence points that needed to be addressed in the event of a future ecumenical conversation:

Yet ineffectual as is turned out, one advantage was gained by it, that it gave us a genuine view of the doctrines and rules of the present Eastern Church, which in all the religious disputes here in the West has been so often appealed to, but which neither party can claim full kindred with. For from their own papers on this occasion, the originals of which, we are told, were carried to Lambeth, and perhaps are still there, we find them differing from the Papists in the articles of Purgatory by fire, Communion in both kinds and the Pope's Universal Supremacy, in all which they appear on the protestant side; but then, in the points of praying to Saints and Angels, and worshipping of Images, by the new and insipid distinction of *Dulia* and *Latria*, and in the doctrine of Transsubstantiation, with its consequent Adoration of the host, all of which the Protestants disclaim, these Greeks are as high-flown and obstinate, as the most violent Papist in the whole Church of Rome: Besides sundry other peculiarities of less importance, in which they stand single and unrelated to any European denomination whatever.²⁴²

SUMMARY

The dialogue initiated by the Nonjuror Anglican theologians, envisaging an ecclesiastical union with the Orthodox East, is an enthralling research topic as it involves not only theo-

²⁴² Skinner, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* cit., 639.

logical considerations — as it appears at first sight —, but also entails matters of political diplomacy. Engaging Czar Peter I in the discussions with the Eastern patriarchs provided the political support that allowed this dialogue to continue even when theological divergences seemed insuperable. Thorough analysis of each document, as well as working hypotheses cautiously put forth, have resulted in a new chronological arrangement of the context of this theological dialogue, so far insufficiently investigated. This approach has also produced a revision of the information presented by well-known scholars (Steven Runciman and Chrysostomos Papadopoulos).

The four dogmatic documents (two formulated by the Nonjuror Anglicans, and two signed by the Eastern patriarchs) demonstrate, on the one hand, the openness toward dialogue of the British theologians, and on the other hand, the unconditional stance taken by the Orthodox against the slight errors present in the 17th-century confessions of faith. The text authored by patriarch Dositheos II Notaras and attached to the second answer addressed to the Nonjuror theologians, is the only one containing reference to the perpetuation of these errors.

The direct meeting of the representatives of British Anglicanism and those of the Russian Orthodox Church, scheduled for the summer of 1725 at Sankt Petersburg or Moscow, would have been an exceptional event. Such a theological debate, totally freed from the constraints posed by the two parties' different interpretation of certain written phrases, could have overcome the deadlock caused by their dogmatic conversation. However, this debate never took place, as one of its major supporters, Czar Peter I, had died a few months earlier, and the entire correspondence lost interest for the Orthodox party. Moreover, although in Constantinople were spread some rumors about the canonical status of the Nonjuror Anglicans, dissenters from the Church of England, this status has been confirmed in the fall of 1725, which contributed to the *ex abrupto* cessation of dialogue.

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RECENSIONES

AGAPIO DI GERAPOLI, *Storia Universale* [Studia Orientalia Christiana, Monographiae 21]. Introduzione, traduzione dall'arabo e note di Bartolomeo PIRONE, Edizioni Terra Santa, Milano 2013, pp. 493.

Questo volume è la traduzione italiana dell'opera storica di Agapio di Gerapoli (Maḥbūb al-Manbiḡ), un autore melchita che scrisse in arabo nei secoli IX-X († ca. 942). La traduzione italiana è curata da Bartolomeo Pirone. L'autore dell'opera originale è uno storico melchita, probabilmente vescovo della città Gerapoli (al-Manbiḡ) della Siria, una diocesi che faceva parte del patriarcato di Antiochia. Non sappiamo molto della sua vita. Abbiamo, una testimonianza dell'importanza della sua opera dallo storico musulmano al-Mas'ūdī. Nella tradizione è conosciuto anche come Maḥbūb, che corrisponde alla traduzione araba del greco Ἀγάπιος, il figlio di Qusṭanṭīn, al-Rūmī, il "bizantino", che forse rimanda alla sua confessione melchita. La sua opera appartiene al genere delle opere storiche universali, le quali partono dalla Creazione fino alla contemporaneità dell'autore. È stata edita per la prima volta da L. Cheikho nel CSCO, *Agapius episcopus Mabbugensis. Historia universalis* (CSCO 65 / ar. 10), Beirut 1912. In seguito A. Vasiliev mise in rilievo che il Cheikho non avesse visto tutti i manoscritti che trasmettevano l'opera, e la pubblicò di nuovo: questa volta, una edizione migliorata con traduzione in francese, nella PO: *Kitab al-'unwan. Histoire universelle, écrite par Agapius (Mahbub) de Menbidj*, I, PO 24 (5.4) e 38 (8.3), Paris 1910-1913, e II, PO 34 (7.4) e 52 (11.1), Paris 1912-1915.

L'opera è nota come *Kitāb al-'Unwān*, cioè il Libro del Titolo. Secondo gli studiosi lo storico voleva con questo titolo dimostrare il carattere universale del suo scritto. Essa è stata compilata, come dice l'autore stesso nella prefazione, per essere inviata ad un amico affinché fosse un aiuto (p. 33). È divisa in due parti: la prima segue gli eventi dell'AT, dalla creazione fino all'avvento di Gesù ripercorrendo la storia del popolo di Israele e degli altri popoli dell'area palestinese, menzionando anche i nomi dei re, le loro gesta e gli eventi più importanti della loro epoca, i profeti e tutto ciò che riguarda ancora la vita di Israele fino al regno di Erode I. La seconda parte, invece, segue come sistema cronologico i periodi del regno degli imperatori romani, e successivamente di quelli bizantini. Vengono narrati tutti gli eventi importanti accaduti sotto il regno di ciascuno, iniziando dall'evento salvifico di Cristo, la vita degli apostoli, le persecuzioni, Costantino il grande e il celebre "editto" di Milano, i problemi trinitari e quelli cristologici. Dopo l'arrivo degli arabi, Agapio inizia ad utilizzare nella cronologia il nome sia del Profeta dell'Islam che dei vari califfi, ricordando anche l'imperatore bizantino, ed a volte quello persiano, unitamente al racconto degli eventi più importanti di ciascun califfato. Purtroppo l'opera non è arrivata a noi completa e finisce con il califfato di Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī che è morto nel 785.

Dal punto di vista storico, la grande importanza dell'opera è rappresentata dalle fonti utilizzate. Oltre certamente alle informazioni dell'epoca dall'arrivo degli arabi fino al califfo al-Mahdi, Agapio ne elabora tante: oltre all'AT, attraverso la traduzione dei Settanta (pp. 84-88), e il NT, egli utilizza il grande storico Eusebio, altre fonti greche, siriane, e anche tante leggende apocrife come per esempio la leggenda sulla condanna a morte in croce inflitta a Ponzio Pilato dall'imperatore Tiberio (p. 208, n. 58, pp. 143-144 nell'edizione di Cheikho), derivante dalla tradizione apocrifa e soprattutto dal Martirio di Pilato. Un altro esempio è la corrispondenza tra il re Abgar e Tiberio, dove il nostro autore cita e traduce la corrispondenza epistolare tra i due re che proviene dall'apocrifo siriano "La dottrina di Ad-dai" (p. 219).

Dal punto di vista della storia del dogma cristiano quest'opera ci trasmette molte informazioni sulle eresie, sulle dottrine degli eretici, sui sinodi e sui concili che hanno affrontato questi problemi. L'importanza delle informazioni si trova nelle citazioni che ci trasmette l'autore, provenienti da opere che, a volte, non ci sono pervenute, ma anche nel linguaggio arabo utilizzato per tradurre le formule dottrinali e canoniche di vari sinodi e concili. Per esempio egli parlando del concilio di Calcedonia, dice sulla cristologia del concilio che i padri "dichiarano che il Figlio ha assunto una natura senza ipostasi, dato che la natura è altra cosa che le ipostasi, ed è costituito di una sola ipostasi e di due nature; che gli vengono riconosciute due sostanze, due operazioni, due volontà e una sola ipostasi, e che la sostanza della natura divina [della divinità] è altra cosa che le tre ipostasi" (p. 333). Certamente come succede con tutti questi storici che scrivono secoli dopo i concili, si trovano elaborazioni dei testi che vengono presentati secondo la visione teologica propria. La loro importanza si trova nella trasmissione della comprensione dei concili e delle dottrine da parte dell'autore e della sua comunità.

L'opera di Agapio è molto utile per gli studiosi della storia del vicino Oriente e dell'Islam delle origini, perché essa offre una descrizione dell'arrivo degli arabi nella zona, il rapporto dei cristiani con la nuova religione e il nuovo potere. È piena di informazioni su califfi e sui più importanti eventi che sono accaduti durante il loro regno. Certamente è anche interessante vedere come lo storico presenta gli eventi e quale è la sua visione di autore melchita.

La traduzione italiana di B. Pirone è molto ben fatta. Inizia con una Prefazione di Riccardo Contini (pp. 5-10), seguono un'ampia bibliografia (pp. 13-16), un'introduzione che contiene delle informazioni sull'autore Agapio, l'opera, le edizioni esistenti, i manoscritti, il contenuto dell'opera e i criteri seguiti nella traduzione (pp. 17-30). Pirone nella sua traduzione segue le due parti articolate dallo stesso Agapio, ma inserisce, per facilitare il lettore italiano, una sua divisione in capitoli, mettendo anche dei sottotitoli che aiutano molto sia il lettore semplice che lo studioso. La traduzione è ampiamente corredata di note ricche di informazioni e di rimandi ad altre fonti per una migliore comprensione di alcuni eventi, personaggi e luoghi. Pirone menziona, inoltre, in nota le differenze tra le due edizioni, quella di Cheikho e quella di Vasiliev, e giustifica a volte la sua scelta tra le due. È molto interessante anche la sua continua sottolineatura delle somiglianze che si

trovano tra quest'opera e quella di Michele il Siro (1126 -1199): in questo modo, a mio parere, egli prova a dimostrare che Agapio fu una fonte, forse indiretta, del grande storico e patriarca della Chiesa giacobita. Il traduttore cerca di essere il più fedele possibile al testo originale, anche se, laddove ne abbia rilevata la necessità, ha migliorato la traduzione italiana per rendere il testo più chiaro. Certamente uno studioso deve sempre ritornare all'originale per una comprensione perfetta del testo ed il suo contenuto. Il libro finisce con gli Indici dei passi biblici (pp. 433-439), di quelli coranici (p. 440), dei nomi di persona, luogo, opere (pp. 441-476), e in ultimo l'indice generale del volume che segue la divisione introdotta dal traduttore (pp. 477-493).

Bishara Ebeid

CHAILLLOT, Christine, *Vie et spiritualité des Églises orthodoxes orientales des traditions syriaque, arménienne, copte et éthiopienne*. Préface du protopresbytre Boris BOBRINSKOY [Patrimoines Orthodoxie], Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 2011, pp. 470.

Sous un titre un peu long et redondant, puisque par l'expression "Églises orthodoxes orientales", on entend justement aujourd'hui les Églises non chalcédoniennes des traditions énumérées (mais dans quel ordre?), l'A. propose au public francophone "une introduction à ce très vaste sujet", comme elle le souligne elle-même (p. 17). Après le grand ouvrage de Jean-Pierre Valognes, *Vie et mort des chrétiens d'Orient*, paru en 1994, cf. le compte rendu de V. Poggi in *OCP* 61 (1995) 656-660, projet plus ambitieux, car il couvrirait toutes les Églises du Proche et du Moyen Orient, voici une nouvelle présentation générale de cet univers fascinant et d'une rare complexité, écrite avec beaucoup de sympathie par quelqu'un qui appartient à la tradition orthodoxe. L'A. a du reste publié en anglais plusieurs livres sur le thème et ce volume constitue une "compilation" de ces études antérieures; seule la partie sur l'Église arménienne est "nouvellement écrite" (p. 15).

Chaque partie comprend plusieurs chapitres qui traitent de l'histoire, de la diaspora, de la langue et de la littérature, de la vie liturgique, de la spiritualité et de la vie monastique des Églises étudiées. La deuxième partie, consacrée à l'Église malankare syrienne orthodoxe de l'Inde (p. 99-116) est plus ramassée que les autres, car beaucoup de choses communes ont déjà été dites pour l'Église syrienne orthodoxe (p. 19-98). Viennent ensuite l'Église arménienne apostolique (p. 117-202), l'Église copte orthodoxe (p. 203-304) et enfin l'Église éthiopienne orthodoxe (p. 305-418). Une bibliographie détaillée remplit les pages 419 à 467. Il n'y a malheureusement aucun index.

L'ouvrage est rédigé dans un style qui se veut simple et direct et la somme des informations offertes au lecteur est impressionnante. Quelques formulations sont un peu maladroites ou inexactes, quand sont mentionnés des "patriarcats" pour les premiers siècles — en oubliant d'ailleurs Alexandrie ! —, alors que cette institution ne s'établit vraiment que sous Justinien (p. 14). Au sujet d'Abou Salih et d'Abou al-Makarim (p. 281), l'A. aurait dû tenir compte de l'article d'U. Zanetti paru dans *BSAC* 34 (1995) 85-138. Pour l'époque envisagée dans le passage, il convient de

parler de bornes miliaries, non de bornes kilométriques (p. 291). La phrase sur les deux Tekle Haymanot, le moine mort au début du XIV^e siècle puis le patriarche du XX^e, n'est pas très claire (p. 408). Les plus anciens manuscrits éthiopiens remonteraient au XI^e siècle p. 336, puis au XII^e p. 345 ; on verra à ce sujet l'article « "Manuscripts" de S. Uhlig — A. Bausi dans *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, III, Wiesbaden 2007, 739b-740. Qui est le Cyr qui accompagne Épiphanie à Dayr al-Baḥārī p. 286?

On trouve peu de coquilles au long de ces nombreuses pages, ce qui dit le soin porté au travail (un "est" superflu p. 247, l. 12; "penhtos" au lieu de "penthos" p. 278; "Tulumides" au lieu de "Tulunides", p. 442, sous "Hassan"). Il faut lire "après" et non "avant Jésus-Christ" p. 49, première ligne du dernier paragraphe. À la page 253, nous relevons une inexactitude et une erreur qui est malheureusement souvent répétée. Contrairement à ce qui est dit, la musique liturgique copte a déjà été notée à la fin du XIX^e siècle, cf. la section "Transcriptions in Western notation" de l'article signé par Ragheb Moftah — M. Robertson — M. Roy, "Coptic Music", dans la *Coptic Encyclopedia*, 1742b-1743a. Plus grave est la relation établie entre l'ère de Dioclétien et les persécutions chrétiennes, car ce système de datation est d'origine toute civile et sera bien vite utilisé par l'Église alexandrine: les *Lettres festales* d'Athanase sont datées "de Dioclétien" et Ambroise de Milan connaît ce système. Ce n'est que bien plus tard qu'on lui donnera le nom d'ère des Martyrs, cf. L.S.B. MacCoull — K.A. Worp, "The Era of the Martyrs", dans M. Capasso — G. Messeri Savorelli — R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*, Firenze 1990, p. 375-408.

On pourra ajouter dans la bibliographie, toujours pour le monde alexandrin, la grande synthèse historique en trois volumes d'A. Elli, *Storia della Chiesa Copta*, Cairo — Jerusalem 2003. Le nouvel *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, publié par S.P. Brock, A.M. Butts, G.A. Kiraz et L. Van Rompay à Piscataway en 2011 n'a évidemment pas pu être mentionné. Il nous a manqué pour la tradition de l'Église syrienne orthodoxe des lignes substantielles sur son apport à la littérature arabo-chrétienne. L'A. parle bien de Barhebraeus et du *Candélabre du sanctuaire* (p. 52), mais cette encyclopédie n'appartient pas en propre à la littérature syriaque, selon le titre du paragraphe. En revanche, on ne saurait passer sous silence, pour ne citer que lui, Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī dont l'influence sur la théologie chrétienne, mais aussi sur la philosophie arabe, est plus que notable.

Dans l'Introduction générale, l'A. déclare son intention d'écrire une présentation des Églises orientales orthodoxes qui serve "à un grand public, aux étudiants, aux pèlerins et même aux simples voyageurs, comme guide de voyage spirituel" (p. 15). Le périple qu'elle a accompli durant de longues années à travers ces vénérables traditions de l'Orient chrétien a porté ses fruits dans un gros ouvrage où sont consignées nombre d'annotations personnelles, surtout dans les chapitres sur la spiritualité et la vie monastique. L'A. a dialogué avec les fidèles des ces Églises, moines et moniales, laïcs ou prêtres, enregistrant par écrit ce qu'elle entendait et peut ainsi offrir au lecteur, parsemées au long de ces pages d'érudition, de précieuses perles de sagesse chrétienne.

FOUILLLOUX, Étienne, *Eugène cardinal Tisserant (1884-1972). Une biographie*, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris 2011, pp. 717.

La storia di un personaggio dipende dal rispetto per la storia stessa. Il Prof. Étienne Fouilloux che ha scritto questa eccellente biografia, davanti all'incombenza di recensire *La bataille du Vatican* di Christine Pedotti, pone alla sua coscienza di storico queste domande. "Faut-il recenser ce livre dans une revue d'histoire à prétention scientifique? La question n'est pas de pure forme car C.P. enfreint sciemment plusieurs des règles d'or du métier d'historien". Invece Fouilloux esercita un sincero senso storico ad ogni piè sospinto, lungo le 717 pagine del libro su Eugène Tisserant. Fin dal primo capitolo guida il Lettore a seguire il protagonista della biografia, sulla base di lettere spedite a Tisserant, oppure da lui stesso inviate conservandone copia su carta carbone. Fouilloux sottolinea il merito della pronipote del cardinale, Paule Hennequin, che si è preoccupata di custodire la preziosa eredità epistolare. E il professore Fouilloux, da parte sua, ha dedicato molto tempo a percorrere quei documenti che le sobrie note a piè di pagina permettono la rapida individuazione delle singole fonti. Dopo l'utile *Introduction* il libro ha una suddivisione in parti che a loro volta si frazionano in sottotitoli brevi e comprensivi.

Eugène Tisserant è membro di una famiglia di Nancy nella Lorena. Studia d'impegno e con ottimi risultati. Entra in seminario e fa la conoscenza del sacerdote Charles Ruch, poi vescovo di Strasburgo, col quale corrisponde fedelmente fino al 1945, quando muore il vescovo. Ruch gli aveva suggerito di recarsi in Terra Santa alla *École biblique* di Gerusalemme diretta da Padre Lagrange (1904-1905). Eugène studia un biennio a Parigi le lingue orientali ed è ordinato sacerdote nel 1907. Émile Poulat specialista di modernismo, si chiede quale sia il contagio modernista sofferto da Eugène Tisserant lungo gli anni di formazione. Ma lo esclude, in quanto la specializzazione linguistica affrontata con zelo immunizza Eugène dalla "ipoteca modernista".

Questa biografia riempie una grave lacuna. Non esisteva una biografia di Eugène Tisserant. Finalmente un incontro tra specialisti universitari insistette perché il Prof. Fouilloux accettasse l'incarico, come avvenne di fatto. Nel libro si dipana la storia dell'uomo, prete, cardinale e vescovo, che conosce l'ebraico, il siriano, l'arabo, l'etiopico, l'assiro e ben presto studierà il russo, l'armeno e il copto. All'arrivo di lui a Roma nell'autunno del 1908 gli propongono corsi di assiro all'Apollinare. Ma la storia è spesso diversa dai sogni preconetti. Benedetto XV, dopo un breve papato muore nel 1922. Il conclave sceglie il cardinale Ratti che prende il nome di Pio XI. Al nuovo papa, che a Milano e a Roma è stato prefetto della Biblioteca Ambrosiana e della Vaticana, Tisserant fa un'ottima impressione. Il papa cerca due persone per realizzare il piano al quale pensa. La prima persona prescelta è Tisserant, la seconda è un prete francese di rito orientale, competente delle liturgie dell'Est tanto che lo consultano i Patriarchi e i vescovi. Anche il suo pseudonimo russo, Cyril Korolevskij, conferma le sue preferenze. Pio XI invierà i due preti attraverso l'Europa Orientale e il Vicino Oriente, per procurare libri e manoscritti alla Vaticana e al Pontificio Istituto Orientale. È un'avventura lunga

e difficile, con prevedibili sconfitte (in Russia fu loro negato l'ingresso). I due partirono il 12 aprile 1923 dal porto di Trieste. Il rientro a Roma avvenne il 24 aprile 1924, cioè un anno dopo la partenza. I nuovi volumi che arricchirono gli scaffali sono 2700.

Una appendice dell'impresa fu il problema di ampliare le strutture della Biblioteca Vaticana e della biblioteca del PIO. Le varie fasi di quest'altra operazione si svolsero in diversi tempi che ebbero ancora la vantaggiosa presenza di Tisserant mandato da Pio XI a contattare università americane. Mostrarono le loro attrezzature e misero Tisserant in contatto con industrie che creano o aggiornano le biblioteche e producono nuovi modelli impiegando legno, pietra, metallo.

Nel 1936 Tisserant è cardinale prete con il titolo di Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Non cessa di identificare manoscritti e di farne edizioni critiche. Dal 1936 è Segretario della Congregazione della Chiesa Orientale. Dal 1938 fa parte della Commissione Biblica che con l'Enciclica, *Divino afflante Spiritu* del 1943 vede allargarsi l'orizzonte dell'esegesi della Scrittura. Nel 1946, Tisserant diventa cardinale vescovo di Porto e Santa Rufina. Questi impegni vengono accettati da Tisserant, lui stesso straordinario conoscitore dei cristiani orientali. Ha un rapporto fraterno con loro. Basta conoscere e approfondire i suoi trattati come quello sulla storia della Chiesa [cosiddetta] Nestoriana.

Nell'autunno del 1966, Tisserant deve lasciare secondo le nuove regole di età la carica vescovile. Questa volta sembra al cardinale che lo si voglia obbligare a una radicale rinuncia. Rimane decano del Sacro Collegio, però deve abbandonare altre cariche prestigiose nei primi mesi del 1971. A luglio si sposta per ragione di salute nell'Istituto delle Figlie di San Paolo ad Albano Laziale, dove muore il 21 febbraio 1972. È sepolto nella "sua" cattedrale della Storta presso Roma, pegno della sua fedeltà alla Chiesa e dell'affetto filiale dei suoi fedeli.

V. Poggi, S.J.

HAGE, Joseph, *L'Esprit Saint chez saint Éphrem de Nisibe et dans la tradition syriaque antérieure*. Préface et introduction par Tanios Bou Mansour [Bibliothèque de l'Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik 56], PUSEK, Kaslik 2012, pp. 316.

Il libro che presentiamo possiede alcune caratteristiche che lo rendono molto particolare. Sebbene quest'opera sia stata pubblicata solo nel 2012, essa è il testo di una dissertazione del 1985, anno in cui il suo giovane autore veniva a mancare improvvisamente. Nella prefazione, T. Bou Mansour ci informa sul lungo percorso di questa pubblicazione, del quale lui stesso è stato protagonista fin da subito, essendo stato consegnato a lui il manoscritto della dissertazione di Hage, dopo la morte di questi, per una valutazione.

Viene spontaneo chiedersi se valesse la pena far uscire a stampa il testo di una dissertazione che l'autore non ha potuto migliorare prima della pubblicazione; o anche interrogarsi sul valore scientifico di uno studio con la bibliografia ferma a quasi trent'anni fa e che utilizza dei testi, ad esempio, la cui attribuzione a Efrem oggi non è più riconosciuta come certa. Sono domande ovvie, che il curatore di

questa pubblicazione, il già citato T. Bou Mansour, si è naturalmente posto e alle quali ha considerato di dover rispondere positivamente. Sia pur con le parti perfettibili che ogni dissertazione porta con sé (cfr p. 5), il modo con cui è stato affrontato l'argomento da J. Hage e le molteplici originali intuizioni dell'autore che si incontrano lungo l'opera, hanno fatto sì che si ritenesse difendibile la decisione per la sua pubblicazione così come era (cfr p. 4), senza interventi estranei.

Per ovviare al suo possibile anacronismo, sono state scritte allora, dallo stesso Bou Mansour, una lunga introduzione (pp. 9-73) e alcune osservazioni sul testo stesso della dissertazione di Hage (pp. 75-79). Lo scopo, come lo stesso Bou Mansour dichiara, non è tanto fare una introduzione alla dissertazione quanto favorire una comprensione attuale della questione perché la lettura del testo di Hage possa non essere vittima della distanza temporale che ci separa da esso, permettendo così al lettore di affrontare il testo così come Hage lo aveva scritto e, al contempo, di non restare privo della possibilità di riceverne un profitto che non fosse soltanto di testimonianza storica. La scelta ci è parsa felice, perché T. Bou Mansour è un famoso specialista del mondo siriano, e la lettura dei suoi testi è sempre profittevole. Qui ci fornisce, in pratica, un saggio parallelo (come lui stesso lo definisce a p. 4) su Efrem e lo Spirito Santo. Inoltre favorisce l'occasione di far circolare delle idee e delle intuizioni che sarebbero state coperte da un ingiusto oblio, dovuto solo dalla contingenza della morte prematura del suo autore.

La struttura del libro, quindi, vede la prefazione e l'introduzione di T. Bou Mansour che aprono il volume; a partire dalla pagina 81 inizia la dissertazione di J. Hage. Come già accennato, l'introduzione è un saggio a sé sulla pneumatologia di Efrem, con un'attenzione comparativa sul medesimo argomento anche ad Afraate.

L'opera vera e propria di Hage è divisa in tre parti. Nella prima, dopo un primo capitolo bio-bibliografico sul dottore nisibeno, l'autore presenta come Efrem legge la presenza dello Spirito nella Sacra Scrittura. Il titolo della seconda parte è *La théologie transcendental du Saint-Esprit*. Con il termine "teologia trascendentale" Hage intende lo Spirito in chiave "immanente", ossia lo Spirito rivelante e rivelatore, lo Spirito in sé, lo Spirito in relazione con le altre Persone della Trinità e gli attributi dati allo Spirito. La terza parte analizza negli scritti di Efrem la presenza dello Spirito nella sua vertente "economica", ossia, diremmo, il *quoad nos*: nella liturgia e nei sacramenti, nella preghiera e nei suoi tradizionali doni. Questa parte termina con un capitolo sulle immagini usate da Efrem per descrivere lo Spirito e, nell'ultimo capitolo, si analizza il suo rapporto con la resurrezione.

Come anche Mansour fa notare, manca una conclusione generale: non pare si sia perduta, visto lo stato del manoscritto di Hage. Forse non ha avuto la possibilità di concluderla, essendo stati gli ultimi tempi segnati, come ci informa lo stesso Mansour, da varie sofferenze non solo fisiche.

L'opera, benché sia "ferma" al 1985, vale a nostro avviso la lettura, in quanto è una buona presentazione generale della pneumatologia di Efrem, che abbraccia quasi tutti i testi, letti e spesso interpretati, nei passi anche più difficili, con finezza e intelligenza. I testi che Hage considerava autentici e che oggi non si accolgono come di paternità efremiana non inficiano il profitto che il lettore avvertito può

ricavarne. Siccome è sempre valido il consiglio sul modo di studiare che troviamo in un testo attribuito a Tommaso d'Aquino, *per rivulos non statim in mare eligas introire, quia per faciliora ad difficiliora oportet devenire*, diremmo che questa opera di Hage, insieme alla precisa introduzione di T. Bou Mansour, sono un eccellente cammino per entrare nella problematica pneumatologica siriana nelle pagine di uno dei suoi più eminenti Padri, Efrem di Nisibi.

Terminiamo con un'osservazione su una pagina che ci ha colpito. Nella sua introduzione, Hage ci dona questo *incipit*: «Animé d'un ardent désir de rencontrer l'Esprit Saint aussi dans les œuvres de mes ancêtres spirituels, les Pères de l'Église antiochienne syriaque, et guidé par la lumière du même Esprit, j'entreprends cette étude...» (p. 97). La dichiarazione della motivazione profonda (incontrare lo Spirito nei Padri siriani antiocheni) e, in qualche modo, del metodo scelto (guidato dallo Spirito) potrebbe sembrare una sorta di affermazione devota, da riservare proprio a una introduzione o a una specie di colofone finale al lavoro ben più scientifico. Lo riteniamo invece una indicazione metodologica di profondo significato: non si può comprendere e capire *veramente* la letteratura patristica fuori dal medesimo Spirito nella quale fu scritta. Per un lavoro che non sia pura erudizione ma che voglia essere di un qualche significato anche per oggi, è necessaria un'opera di *trasposizione*. Dal testo si deve salire alla medesima esperienza (alla *mens*) di chi ha composto quel testo e poi, e solo poi, scendere verso il nostro contesto. Solo chi condivide lo stesso *milieu* spirituale è in grado di fare una trasposizione efficace. Sia pur con i limiti del genere letterario di una dissertazione, sia pur con le imperfezioni che solo una revisione per la pubblicazione fatta dallo stesso autore avrebbe potuto limare via, forte è stata la sensazione che le pagine più brillanti di questo testo siano dovute proprio a questa apertura metodologica speciale dichiarata dall'autore.

M. Pampaloni, S.J.

IBN TAYMIYYA, *Réponse raisonnable aux chrétiens? Extrait de: La réponse valide à ceux qui ont altéré la religion du Messie (al-Ġawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ)* [Publications de l'Institut français du Proche-Orient 272], édité, traduit et commenté par Laurent BASANESE, S.J., Presses de l'Institut français du Proche-Orient, Damas — Beyrouth 2012, pp. 335.

Uno dei dottori classici dell'Islam, riformista, eminente hanbalita, attraverso il suo puritanesimo radicale e combattivo non teme di sostenere la sua *fatwā* nonostante il numero e la celebrità di chi la avversa. È il damasceno Taqī al-dīn Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya nato il 22 gennaio 1263 e morto nella Cittadella di Damasco il 26 settembre 1328. L'Autore di questo libro incomincia con le opere di Taymiyya che segue le orme del padre, anche lui hanbalita (capitolo I, pp. 13-45). L'A. suddivide gli scritti di Taymiyya nei diversi generi: *Commento al Corano*, *Verifica del genuino hadith*, *Diritto e giurisprudenza*. 37 volumi contengono le sue sentenze o *fatwā*. Sui Fondamenti della religione: *Credo di Hama*, *di Palmira*, *d'Esfahān*, *di Marrakesh*; *Sentenze profetiche contro i Nusayris*. Logica e filosofia: *Rifiuto di*

opporre ragione a tradizione; Lettera ad Abū al-Fidā'. Sufismo. Riprovazione di confessioni religiose diverse: *Libro della spada sguainata contro chiunque oltraggi il Profeta; Risposta inconfutabile a quanti hanno alterato la religione del Messia* (testo di 1400 pagine stampato in arabo al Cairo l'anno 1323 A.H., 1905 A.D.), del quale l'A. esaminerà un estratto in arabo, affiancandolo alla traduzione francese; *Sulla necessità di tenersi sulla retta via distante dai compagni della Gehenna.* Consuetudini, scienze politiche e sociali: *Circa la ḥisba; Lettera del giuramento di ripudio; Sulla visita alle tombe; Sui riti del pellegrinaggio.* Benché le autorità dissentano circa la severità delle sue sentenze, Taymiyya non rinuncia alla sua testardaggine. Giunge perfino a chiedere che si sopprimano le feste religiose musulmane e cristiane perché le trova troppo simili le une alle altre, della quale somiglianza si scandalizza. Lo rinchiudono nella cittadella di Damasco per vari mesi. Gli sequestrano penna e inchiostro. C'è soltanto un punto di dottrina nel quale si mostra arrendevole: *l'amore di Dio verso gli uomini e degli uomini verso Dio.* Ma per Taymiyya una cosa è buona o cattiva a seconda che è amata o detestata da Dio (p. 251). Il cuore è creato per amare Dio. L'obbedienza della creatura alla volontà divina è subordinata all'amore di Dio (p. 253). Dio ama i credenti (Musulmani) e detesta i miscredenti (non Musulmani). Quindi occorre amare i musulmani e odiare i cristiani e gli ebrei.

Il capitolo II contiene l'edizione e la traduzione d'un estratto della *Risposta inconfutabile a quanti hanno alterato la religione del Messia*, nel quale Ibn Taymiyya pensa di rispondere al vescovo melchita di Sidone, Paolo di Antiochia, del secolo XIII, ma di fatto si rivolge indirettamente al vescovo nestoriano Elia di Nisibi del secolo XI. Basanese, autore del commento, lo ha dimostrato nel suo saggio. Gli interlocutori cristiani difendono la verità dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento. Ibn Taymiyya invece elenca quindici risposte errate, secondo lui inoppugnabili: 1) Il Credo cristiano è opposto al Corano. 2) Gli attributi di Dio nel Corano sono incomprensibili ai cristiani. 3) Si ritrovano nel VT. 4) Nominalmente simili ma diversamente spiegabili. 5) I cristiani errano parlando del corpo di Dio. 6) Secondo loro Dio ha corpo. 7) L'antropomorfismo cristiano non è paragonabile a quello coranico. 8) Specialmente circa la Trinità. 9) Figlio e Spirito non possono applicarsi al Corano. 10) La Trinità dei cristiani ripugna ai musulmani. 11) L'interpretazione ebraica è ancora meno adattabile di quella cristiana. 12) Non si può applicare l'unione ipostatica al contesto islamico 13) Unione ipostatica e Inabitazione ripugnano ai musulmani 14) La dottrina trinitaria è inammissibile nell'islam 15) Unione ipostatica, Inabitazione, Generazione provocano i musulmani.

Nel capitolo III, l'A. analizza il rapporto tra ragione e fede secondo Ibn Taymiyya. Oltre la severa critica di cristiani e di ebrei, corruttori delle sacre scritture, Ibn Taymiyya pretende che solo i musulmani esercitino appieno la facoltà della ragione senza incorrere in errori. Eppure la quasi contemporanea somma teologica di Bar Ebreo incomincia *Il Candelabro dei Santuari* con lode a Dio che ha concesso all'uomo l'esercizio della ragione, con la facoltà di conoscere la verità e di guardarsi dall'errore. Taymiyya ha preferenze per gli ebrei sui cristiani. Gli ebrei hanno più discernimento e intelligenza, mentre i cristiani cadono in errori gravi. Questa osservazione è in contrasto con quella enunziata sopra al n. 11.

Oggi si parla e si scrive molto di Ibn Taymiyya nel dār al-islām e in Occidente. Vari islamologi si sono dedicati a uno studio attento di questo famoso musulmano, per esempio Henri Laoust, Michel Thomas, Yahya Jean Michot, Gérard Troupeau etc. C'è stato perfino chi ha invocato una *fatwā* di Taymiyya per giustificare un *ḡihād* che oltrepassa il crimine di guerra.

Questo libro di un capace arabista ci aiuta ad affrontare un musulmano di tempi lontani tuttora studiato nei suoi numerosi scritti.

V. Poggi, S.J.

MAGUIRE, Henry, *Nectar and Illusion. Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature*, Oxford University Press, Oxford — New York 2012, pp. XX + 198 + 20 colour plates.

It is likely that the questioning reader will be disappointed by this slim volume in five chapters, with alluring title and seductive imagery on cover — the Byzantine mosaic of a peacock —, if expectations be raised by a very distinguished author writing for an equally distinguished press. It presents an authoritative interpretation of the visual (and literary) evidence in support of an overarching theory about Byzantine attitudes to nature, described as follows in the author's own words: "In Byzantium rhetorical treatments of nature were regarded with suspicion and often were accompanied by disclaimers or by material that would neutralize their glorification of terrestrial phenomena. On the other hand, the concept of sanctification of nature through the incarnation allowed the celebration of nature in certain contexts, such as the Annunciations to the Virgin and St. Anne. When we turn to Byzantine church art during the Middle Ages, we find that the depictions of nature correspond to the attitudes found in literature; that is, we can see an abiding ambivalence between denial and acceptance, punctuated by a brief return of interest in all of terrestrial creation during the twelfth century" (pp. 66-7).

In this view, Byzantines constantly wavered between a spontaneous appreciation of nature and some self-imposed restriction that barred the way to the full development of such passion for an aspect of worldly living, namely, plants, animals, and natural phenomena. Maguire detects such self-evident love-hate for nature and its creatures in images through the presence or absence of naturalistic representations or motifs, while in rhetoric the same dichotomy becomes apparent in the contrast between luscious descriptions and claims about the vanity of the things of this world (especially in monastic writings). The constraints imposed on what would appear as a more natural attitude are attributed to some inescapable religious super-structure that wholly determines the Byzantine universe.

According to Maguire, everything depicted in Byzantium was invested with a symbolic value that automatically permitted or forbade its very representation. Although most of the extant artistic expressions are undoubtedly religious in character, it does not follow that their rationale revolves around strictly theological assumptions in all that concerns them. Must "the single tree behind the Virgin" necessarily "hint at themes of fertility and renewal" (p. 74 and fig. 2.10)? Is the

question at all about freedom in representing nature, with the artist as a threatened being walking a tight rope between orthodoxy and heresy, rather than about compositional schemes and aesthetic sense? This question must at the very least be seriously posed. Not only are there, from the art historian's viewpoint, many other factors to be taken into consideration, such as context, patronage, economic means, availability of materials and artists, but even the theological aspect, and more importantly the type of relation between written word and image, requires closer proof every time it is employed.

For example, depicting an Annunciation scene on a golden background, such as at Daphni (fig. 2.6), could be due to a variety of choices: placement in the church, reflexion of light, display of wealth, etc. Surely each aspect can also be attributed a 'further meaning' (or not), but it is far from obvious that a golden background *must* be interpreted as obliteration of nature. To use this kind of observation as a proof of negative attitudes to nature is equivalent to employing an argument *ex silentio*. Other explanations ought to be contemplated besides. Maybe there was just no-one who could represent a natural background quite in the way required; maybe the patron liked gold best: we simply do not know. Maguire appears to have donned glasses through which any evidence can only be read in support of his view of Byzantine 'nature-schizophrenia'.

There are several fundamental methodological problems in this kind of approach, whose effect is that of reducing an entire civilization to the paradox of itself. To begin with, 'Byzantium' is used according to an a priori meaning that disregards the cultural differentiations that the empire contained within its borders. Artifacts from disparate places (Palestine, Italy, Greece, Constantinople) are compared along an artificial continuum that ignores their particularity, presumably under a religious umbrella that, however, is hardly as undifferentiated as here presumed. Moreover, the temporal spectrum along which these phenomena are described assumes cultural shifts and paradigms that do not work in the way they are presented. Typically, the watershed of iconoclasm is invoked, but its effects are hardly analyzed with any logic: any suggested chronology of development (roughly from less to more nature-phobic attitudes) breaks down at the exceptions, such as the twelfth-century figural mosaics of the floor of the Pantokrator Monastery church at CP. The floor mosaic of Otranto Cathedral could have been cited as another instance of departure from the more typical geometrical motifs that dominate medieval church floors, and which Maguire interprets as support of his progressive theory of nature-rejection on the part of the Byzantines. The proposed 'link' of these figural revivals to a (slightly later) revival of interest in *Hexaemeron* literature (p. 69) appears too hazy in light of the continued reading of such type of sermons in churches. A more direct acknowledgement of their disruptive impact on the neat packaging of attitudes to nature offered by the author might have seemed necessary.

The foundations for nature-iconoclasm are to be found, according to the first chapter, in a pervasive fear of idolatry that the Byzantines perpetuated as a kind of unshakeable inheritance from the difficult times in Late Antiquity when they

had to struggle to differentiate themselves from pagan nature-worshippers. The process of mutual discourse between Christians and pagans is here presented as an uninterrupted sequence of identity-defining contrasting choices between the fourth and the sixth centuries, without any reference to the lively debates and disparate views emerged in recent scholarship on this period. Maguire invokes several writings of the Church Fathers — Athanasius of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, Augustine — pronouncing against idolatrous representations, but fails to demonstrate that the natural images in churches were ever perceived as elements to venerate and therefore were *for this reason* to be destroyed or avoided. Far from being stained with pagan overtones, for example, the four rivers of paradise often represented in early Christian churches were the Hellenization of a Jewish biblical motif from Genesis. The interpretation of one (or two) of them as the Nile was already a *quaestio disputata* in Rabbinic exegesis. Clearly, there was no reason why the Nile should ever have been represented, by itself, in churches. Thus Maguire's assumptions in relation to the pagan cult of the Nile appear entirely self-serving: "Against this background of suspicion", he writes, "Christians were careful about how they represented the Nile in their churches. For the most part, they avoided personifying the Nile on its own, without the company of the other three rivers of paradise to act as chaperons". Here the author's perspective swings from obsessive over-interpretation of any image to the hypothesis that any image could equally be represented any where.

While admitting that, in some contexts, external form can take on a different meaningfulness, as in the Christian evolution in understanding personifications such as Ktisis (Creation) and Ananeosis (Renewal) (pp. 30-34, figs. 1.13-15), this capacity for intelligent reading of the visual is denied to the average Byzantine viewer. Thus the Monophysite Christian (hypothetically) coming into a value-loaded household at Antioch needs to destroy as much as he can of the mosaic evidence (faces only?) to get rid of previous beliefs immured in his dwelling. And, later, Maguire argues that only Latins are capable of the required detachment between object represented and significance, steeled as they are by their low theology of the image after reading the *Libri Carolini*. Safe from idolatrous second-meanings, the sheep in the apse of San Clemente in Rome can go on grazing in their tame apostolic symbolism, their peaceful act lost on the poor Greek visitor: "From the Byzantine perspective, these Roman apses, with their celebration of the created world in the most prominent part of the church, would have been sorely deficient as icons" (p. 102). In this context, it would have been useful to consider the transmission of the moralized *Physiologos* as a Greek text presenting allegorical meanings for animals and plants that were constantly popular in the middle ages and, incidentally, shared with the Latin tradition.

Maguire shifts from public monumental art to book illustration by considering at several points the highly charged images in the twelfth-century manuscripts of the Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos. Here the decoration appears not to refrain from nature, whether one regards individual scenes or the employment of flower-carpeted images in the headpiece ornamentation. In Maguire's opinion, the more

frequent occurrence of natural representations in manuscripts is due to their private and restricted use, which permits a more daring and perhaps even transgressive content. However, it is likely that nature-filled illustrations of the sermons of Gregory Nazianzen, for example, were key texts in monasteries, and that these precious editions were far from closeted for the exclusive use of one dignitary or patron. Rather, it can be argued that the symbolic status of precious books in church and monastery made them the privileged place of theological unfolding and development, both in conception and in display. As materials where nature is prominently present such evidence cannot therefore be as easily dismissed as this book might find convenient.

The main thesis of this book, expressed as it is in stark and dogmatic manner, is ultimately unconvincing. Not only does it employ evidence in a worryingly unproblematic manner, but it is also underpinned by an unsympathetic approach to the sociology of religion as working within a medieval context which obscures rather than enhances understanding of its possible dynamics in Byzantium. 'Byzantines' were not necessarily all paranoid religious freaks. Describing how aspects of religious beliefs impacted on the choices of the ordinary man as well as of the artist (or patron behind him) must surely include more subtle and reasoned alternatives, which the appeal to the iconoclast rift somehow trivializes and makes into an all-or-nothing choice.

As Noble says in his book, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, pp. 26-27, the famous Quinisext canon may not have anything to say at all about depiction of sheep, but rather is a new and largely unexpected encouragement to depict Christ as man. We do not need symbols — whether natural or personified — when the Word made flesh not just authorizes but even requires plain-speaking imagery. Nature can surely be both loved and depicted in Byzantium: the relative dearth of its representations, or indeed the non-naturalistic tendency that Byzantine art inclines towards, cannot be univocally attributed to a fear of idolatry, nor to uncompromising allegiance to strict ascetic tenets.

B. Crostini

OMTZGIT, Pieter H. – Markus K. TOZMAN – A. TYNDALL (ed.), *The Slow Disappearance of the Syriacs from Turkey and of the Grounds of the Mor Gabriel Monastery*, Lit Verlag, Berlin – Münster – Wien – Zürich s.d., pp. IV + 268.

This is a well-informed volume as well as an act of denunciation and political protest. It consists of a number of short contributions by academics, scholars, journalists, human rights activists, clergymen and politicians. The Monastery of Mor Gabriel in Tur Abdin (Southeastern Turkey) is presented as an emblematic case of the precarious and endangered conditions of life faced by Christian minorities in Turkey. The government and Kurdish neighbors initiated a series of lawsuits that threaten or have indeed already severely damaged the integrity of the very ancient Monastery, founded in 397 and active for centuries as a spiritual and cultural center for the Syrian Orthodox Church. The reform of the Turkish

land register, required by the European Union and funded by the World Bank, has ironically resulted in the confiscation of large portions of the land belonging to the Monastery, since according to Turkish law all land classified as forested automatically becomes the property of the State. Documents proving that the Monastery has regularly paid taxes on those lands since the early 20th century have proven useless. Given the diverse backgrounds of the contributors, the volume provides the reader with a multifaceted picture of the situation and is based on the methodological approaches of a number of disciplines: history, sociology, political science, international relations, the rights of minorities, laws concerning land registers. The papers by young researchers (Atto, Makko, Onder, Tozman), most of them of Syrian background, are particularly sound from the methodological point of view and contribute significantly to the discussion.

Mainly referring to his own numerous publications on the subject, Martin Tamcke (15-23), professor of Theology at the University of Göttingen, presents the Armenian, Syrian and Assyro-Chaldean genocide, called *Sayfo* in Syriac (lit. 'sword', in fact an abbreviation of 'the Year of the Sword', i.e. 1915), in the context of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Alan Hurst, fellow of the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty (Washington DC), focuses on Turkish compliance and non-compliance with the Treaty of Lausanne, especially as far as human rights are concerned (25-45). The Treaty was ratified by Turkey in 1923 as an international recognition of its independence after World War I, but also as a commitment to respect the individual, group, language, and institutional rights of non-Muslim minorities.

Herman Teule (53-54), professor of Eastern Christianity at the University of Nijmegen, specifies that in the current Turkish interpretation of the Lausanne Treaty, only Jews and members of the Greek, Bulgarian and Armenian Orthodox Churches are entitled to special cultural and legal protection — this theme occurs in other contributions (see pp. 99, 163, 221) —, whereas Syrians are *de facto* excluded, being considered ordinary Turkish citizens. Teule offers a short dense overview of the history of the Syrian Orthodox Church and of the communities of *Suryoye* in the Middle East and in the Diaspora (47-56). Note that the Syriac term *Suryoye* (lit. 'Syrians'), rather oddly translated as 'Syriacs' throughout the volume, usually applies to (West) Syrians — Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholic Churches — and may include East Syrians, who usually define themselves as Assyrians, Chaldeans or Assyro-Chaldeans. Young researchers prefer to use the term 'Assyrians' to refer to Syrians of all denominations (see, e.g., Atto, p. 231, with brief discussion), while other authors, especially politicians and clergymen, use 'Arameans' or 'Aramaic Christians' with the same meaning.

Jens Nieper, chair of the Desk "Near and Middle East and Foundations in the Holy Land" of the Evangelical Church in Germany, describes the Syrian Orthodox Church as operating "trans-nationally in the territorial sense whilst being predominantly homogenous in its language, culture and character" (59). The trans-national dimension is further complicated — or enriched — by the increasing Syrian Orthodox presence in the diaspora, especially in Western Europe (57-62).

Aryo Makko (63-71), PhD Stockholm University, researcher at Wolfson College

(Oxford) and active in the Cambridge-based project for a Modern Assyrian Research Archive (MARA), addresses the ways in which the Turkish-Kurdish conflict has affected the non-Kurdish minorities, such as *Suryoye*/Assyrians in Tur Abdin and in the Hakkari mountains. Just as Christians were accused of historical betrayal during World War I and suspected of being allied with the State's enemies, they were also caught up in the Turkish-Kurdish conflict, suspected of collaboration with the PKK, and never really improved their relationship with the Kurds.

Dennis Pastoor (73-97), member of the non-denominational NGO Open Doors, supporting persecuted Christians worldwide, discusses secularism and nationalism (Kemalism) as the traditional and still main sources of anti-Christian feelings in Turkey. On the other hand, the growing influence of observant or conservative Islam in Turkish society and the institutionalization of political Islam (especially in the agenda of the ruling Justice and Development Party, AKP) contribute to an identity crisis and a situation in which "it seems as though Turkey is taking steps backwards and steps forward at the same time as far as religious freedom is concerned". Pastoor sadly concludes that "political Islam as a substitute for radical nationalism can hardly be seen as an element that will improve the situation of Christian minorities" (95). Turkey ranked 39th in 2009, 30th in 2010 and 31st on the Open Doors World Watch List of countries in which Christians suffer persecution. As far as one can see from the 2013 list as published on-line (<http://www.worldwatchlist.us/world-watch-list-countries/>), Turkey is no longer among the 50 worst countries, perhaps only because "ranking is determined in relation to what has happened in other countries", as Pastoor specifies, commenting on the List of the two preceding years (74).

Soner Onder (99-120), PhD student at the University of Amsterdam, denounces denialism, assimilationism and forced migration as cultural and political instruments used by Turkey in its discriminatory approach to Christian minorities. In recent times, there are signs of rediscovery and reconstruction of the Christian presence in Turkey. The permission granted to minorities to publish their own periodicals and the introduction of the study of languages such as Classical Syriac and Kurdish in Mardin University can be considered positive steps. Nevertheless, Turkish Christians are 'objectified' in media and public discourses as stereotypes of 'the others' living among the Turks. Nothing has been done to correct the distorted way they are depicted in school books as traitors and collaborators of foreign Powers during World War I. Syrians living in Turkey and especially those living in the diaspora are invited to visit their lost homeland as tourists, without discussing why this loss happened or why they had to abandon their homeland. On p. 141, Tozman speaks of "approximately 10,000-15,000 Syriacs living in Istanbul", while there are now only 2,400 in Tur Abdin. The town Södertälje in Sweden, alone, has a population of 22,000 *Suryoye*, roughly half of the *Suryoye* living in the region around Stockholm. Germany probably has a population of around 90,000 Syrians (*Suryoye* and Assyrians; see Marta Wozniak, 'Far from Aram-Nahrin: The *Suryoye* Diaspora Experience', *on-line*).

Horst Oberkamp (121-37), retired pastor of the Lutheran Evangelical Church in Stuttgart, tells of and documents a pilot project for the return of some 14 fami-

lies of Suryoye from Switzerland and Germany to their ancestors' village in Tur Abdin.

Markus Tozman (139-56), MA student at John Hopkins University, elaborates on the interviews he has collected among Syrians and underscores that they tend to see the process of land registration and the plans to protect historical buildings as a subtle form of discrimination that affect Christians and not their Muslim neighbors. Churches and not mosques are the worship buildings that are placed under preservation order and therefore often abandoned in ruins under the pretext of protecting their historical and artistic value.

Renate Sommer (157-70), German CDU Member of the European Parliament, discusses "the role of religious freedom in the context of the accession negotiations between the European Union and Turkey". Ingrid Fischbach (171-77), CDU Member of the German Bundestag, illustrates what Germany has done and should do on the political and diplomatic levels to take action against the persecution of Christians in Turkey. Among other things, she mentions the concerns voiced by Catholic and Lutheran leaders in Germany about the situation of Syrians in Turkey. Two other politicians have contributed in the last part of the volume: Gus Bilirakis (219-25; Bilarakis under the title on p. 219), member of the Republican Party and representative from Florida in the USA Congress and Ute Granold (227-30), CDU Member and President of the CDU/CSU Commission for Human Rights in the Bundestag.

Sebastian Brock (181-99), the most influential scholar in the field of Syriac studies, sketches the history of the Monastery of Mor Gabriel, summarizing secondary sources and highlighting notices and information drawn from manuscripts. He also touches relevant themes on its present-day vitality, such as the relationship of the Monastery with the diaspora communities of Suryoye, the central role of the monastic school as a centre of education and the re-introduction of women to consecrated life.

Baskin Oran, professor emeritus of international relations at Ankara University and human rights activist, expresses his vibrant criticism of the State's confiscation policy and opaque bureaucracy. Two articles that originally appeared in the Turkish daily *Radikal*'s Sunday supplement are here translated into English (201-07 and 261-64). Also translated from Turkish is an adapted version of a chapter of the book *1600 Yıllık Gelenek: Mor Gabriel Manastırı* ("A 1600 Year Tradition", Istanbul: GDK, 2011) by Yakup Bilge (209-18), a journalist who writes for important Turkish newspapers, now a teacher in Sweden. Bilge's book is the source of many of the pictures reproduced in the volume under discussion. Among other things, they document the official contacts that took place between the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch Mor Ignatius Zakka I with the Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan and the President of the Turkish Republic Gül.

Naures Atto (231-41), PhD Leiden University, recalls the almost 20,000 Syrians who demonstrated in Berlin on the 25th January 2009, in support of the Mor Gabriel Monastery. She underscores the role of the media (satellite TV and YouTube) in calling on people — some of them belonging to opposing political parties — to participate in the demonstration. The united character of that action can probably

be explained by the symbolic value of the Monastery for the Suryoyo community as well as its role as spiritual, cultural and educational centre for many individuals belonging to the community.

An interview with Sébastien de Courtois, author of the book *Le génocide oublié: Chrétiens d'Orient, les derniers araméens* (Paris: Ellipses, 2002; Eng. transl. Gorgias Press), closes the volume. He describes his impressions on visiting Tur Abdin in different years (1998 and 2012), highlights the central figure of the Syrian Orthodox Archbishop Samuel Aktas and says that he is quite optimistic about the future of the district.

Appendix 1 (249-59) contains the *Initiative Policy Document on the Mor Gabriel Monastery*, presented by Dr. Pieter H. Omtzgit, deputy of the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) and approved by the Dutch Parliament in June 2012, with the telling subtitle: *The alarming situation of the Monastery of Mor Gabriel and the Aramaic-speaking Christians in Turkey — the Syriacs*. The document deftly summarizes the historical, social and cultural importance of the Monastery, the legal and political position and demographic development of Christian communities in Turkey. The cases initiated against the Monastery by the Turkish State and its Kurdish neighbors are described in detail, stressing the devastating results in terms of loss of land owned by the Monastery.

No fewer than 60 beautiful color-print images are interspersed throughout the texts, significantly enriching and amplifying their efficacy. They are listed in a separate Index (265-68) and ideally continue and complete the iconography of Tur Abdin as set forth by Hans Hollerweger, founder of the association of Friends of Tur Abdin in Austria, in *Tur Abdin: Living Cultural Heritage* (Linz 1999). Full justice is done to the fascinating landscapes surrounding the Monastery, the sober elegance of the monastic architecture and its function in spiritual life. The beams of light filtering through the four windows into the main church are indeed an invitation to meditation and participation in the rhythms of liturgy.

A. Mengozzi

SCHABEL, Christopher (ed.), *Bullarium Cyprium*. Vol. I. *Papal Letters Concerning Cyprus 1196-1261* [Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 64], Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia 2010, pp. XV + 516.

SCHABEL, Christopher (ed.), *Bullarium Cyprium*. Vol. II. *Papal Letters Concerning Cyprus 1261-1314* [Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 64], Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia 2010, pp. 528.

PERRAT, Charles — Jean RICHARD (éditeurs), avec la collaboration de Christopher SCHABEL, *Bullarium Cyprium*. Vol. III. *Lettres papales relatives à Chypre 1316-1378* [Sources et études de l'histoire de Chypre 68], Centre de recherche scientifique, Nicosie 2012, pp. 547.

L'opera riguarda la corrispondenza epistolare in lingua latina inviata dai Romani Pontefici alla casa regnante dell'isola di Cipro nell'arco di quasi due secoli, dalla conquista dei Crociati (1191) all'insorgere del grande scisma d'Occidente

(1378). La mole della documentazione presa in esame ha comportato la necessità di pubblicare tre volumi che contengono documenti relativi ad altrettanti distinti periodi. La *Bulla Cypria* (1260) di papa Alessandro IV fa da spartiacque tra il primo (1196-1261) e il secondo volume (1261-1314), il quale contiene bibliografia e indici di entrambi; il terzo volume (1316-1378) abbraccia il periodo dell'esilio avignonese e presenta introduzione, bibliografia e indici suoi propri. Schabel, infine, pubblica i testi integrali di privilegi e lettere, diversamente da Perrat e Richard che ne fanno il regesto.

Vol. I [302 lettere]: Celestino III (1191-1198) [5], Innocenzo III (1198-1216) [43], Onorio III (1216-1227) [77], Gregorio IX (1227-1241) [39], Innocenzo IV (1243-1254) [102], Alessandro IV (1254-1261) [36].

Vol. II [294 lettere]: Urbano IV (1261-1264) [32]; Clemente IV (1265-1268) [15], Gregorio X (1272-1276) [12], Giovanni XXI (1276-1277) [1], Niccolò III (1277-1280) [11], Martino IV (1281-1285) [5], Onorio IV (1285-1287) [3], Niccolò IV (1288-1292) [34], Bonifacio VIII (1294-1303) [64], Benedetto XI (1303-1304) [7], Clemente V (1305-1314) [110].

Vol. III [2.151 lettere]: Giovanni XXII (1316-1334) [525], Benedetto XII (1335-1342) [82], Clemente VI (1342-1352) [637], Innocenzo VI (1352-1362) [303], Urbano V (1362-1370) [241], Gregorio XI (1371-1378) [363].

Mancano nell'elenco alcuni papi che non hanno lasciato traccia di corrispondenza con Cipro durante il loro brevissimo pontificato: Celestino IV (1241), Innocenzo V (1276), Adriano V (1276) e Celestino V (1294).

L'edizione si apre con le sigle e le abbreviazioni delle opere citate nel corpo del primo volume (I, pp. XI-XV); questa sezione è replicata, all'interno di una bibliografia più ampia, alla fine del secondo (II, pp. 451-468). Aggiungiamo, per inciso, che gli studi su Cipro, dalla terza Crociata all'età contemporanea, possono giovare oggi anche del lavoro di Paolo Pieraccini, *The Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in Cyprus (1191-1960): its educational, pastoral and charitable work and support for the Maronite community*, Milano 2013.

L'importanza strategica per il controllo del Mediterraneo orientale ha causato il susseguirsi di interferenze e occupazioni straniere nella storia di Cipro, da sempre terra di immigrazione. La Chiesa locale ha un collegamento diretto con la predicazione dell'apostolo Paolo, di Barnaba e dell'evangelista Marco: da questo luogo il messaggio del Vangelo comincia a diffondersi in tutto l'impero. Le dominazioni bizantina (con frequenti incursioni arabe), latina (Franchi e Veneziani) e ottomana scandiscono dodici secoli della storia di quest'isola, dal IV al XVI.

Per liberare la Terra Santa dal dominio turco, papi e imperatori indicano otto crociate nell'arco di quasi due secoli, fra il 1095 e il 1270. Nel 1187 il sultano Salah ad-Din, dopo un breve assedio, restituisce all'Islam la città di Gerusalemme e costringe i membri di molti ordini religiosi a riparare a Cipro. Nel 1189 papa Clemente III bandisce la terza crociata nella speranza di riconquistare i Luoghi santi: vi aderiscono, tra gli altri, l'imperatore Federico I di Svevia e il re d'Inghilterra Riccardo Cuor di Leone. Nel 1190 muore il Barbarossa e l'anno seguente Riccardo strappa Cipro alla giurisdizione di Costantinopoli. Nel 1192 l'isola mediterranea

diventa regno autonomo sotto i principi di Lusignano, già sovrani di Gerusalemme, che vi rimarranno fino al 1489. L'insediamento dei Franchi a Cipro rappresenta, agli occhi del Papa, l'estremo avamposto del vecchio continente in difesa dei Luoghi Santi che non appaiono più oggetto di particolare attenzione da parte del *basileus* bizantino, sempre più contratto entro i propri confini per la pressione dei Bulgari a nord e dei Turchi Selgiuchidi ad est. Alla difesa dei regni cristiani d'Oriente contribuiscono piuttosto nuovi ordini religiosi, monastico-cavallereschi, come l'ordine dei Templari, quello di San Giovanni Ospitaliero (gli odierni Cavalieri di Malta) e l'ordine dei Cavalieri Teutonici. La corona cipriota è forte della costante legittimazione pontificia. Roma, che ha esteso la propria influenza spirituale a gran parte della penisola balcanica, offre nei frangenti critici la propria mediazione: ad esempio quando la stabilità della dinastia latina nell'isola di Cipro è minacciata, nel 1293, dalla guerra tra Genova, che ha ottenuto da Bisanzio basi commerciali nel mar Nero e nel mar di Marmara, e Venezia, dominatrice della parte meridionale del mar Egeo. La protezione del pontefice — quando la curia risiedeva ad Avignone e nel momento in cui la cristianità stava per essere lacerata dal grande scisma d'Occidente — non può però impedire l'occupazione genovese di Famagosta (1373), secondo centro dell'isola, porto principale e piazzaforte militare; i Genovesi vi rimarranno fino al 1464, quando la città tornerà a far parte del regno dei Lusignano.

La comunità latina cipriota convive, oltre che con i musulmani, con i greci ortodossi in larga maggioranza e con numerosi altri cristiani orientali: gli ortodossi di lingua araba (i "siri" dei documenti), i maroniti uniti con Roma, gli armeni (molti dei quali filocattolici), i nestoriani, i giacobiti e altre comunità cristiane; la presenza all'epoca dei copti e degli etiopi — che non vengono menzionati con il loro nome perché probabilmente annoverati fra i "giacobiti" insieme ai siriani non-calcedonesi — è ben attestata sull'isola (cfr R.-G. Coquin — M. Martin, "Monasteries in Cyprus", in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 5, New York 1991, 1647b-1648a e R. Pankhurst, "Cyprus, relations with" in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* 1, Wiesbaden 2003, 842b-843a). Al tempo del pontificato di Celestino III la Chiesa greca ortodossa autocefala è organizzata sul territorio in quattordici eparchie con numerose comunità monastiche. Il periodo in esame è caratterizzato dalla non facile e talvolta conflittuale convivenza tra le gerarchie ecclesiastiche greca e latina per assicurarsi la supremazia sulla Chiesa cipriota. Cultura e costumi occidentali della dinastia regnante favoriscono un processo di latinizzazione che porta ad una sensibile diminuzione dell'episcopato greco locale. Nel 1223 i vescovi greci, ridotti a quattro, esercitano la propria giurisdizione nell'ambito di altrettante diocesi latine create nel 1196: Nicosia, Paphos, Limassol e Famagosta. La stessa *Bulla Cypria* (1260), con cui papa Alessandro IV si propone di regolare i rapporti tra le due Chiese, incontra resistenze da entrambe le parti. La Chiesa siro-maronita è un nucleo vitale dell'isola già precedentemente alle crociate. Con l'avanzata dei mamelucchi d'Egitto nel Mediterraneo orientale — l'ultimo baluardo latino, San Giovanni d'Acri, cade nel 1291 — molti maroniti si rifugiano a Cipro dove, sotto la dinastia dei Lusignano, moltiplicano le loro comunità fino a raggiungere un numero di cir-

ca 20.000 fedeli; saranno duramente provati dall'invasione dell'isola da parte dei Turchi (1571), fino a ridursi gradualmente a poche centinaia alla fine del secolo XVII. Al tempo della terza crociata (1189) i religiosi della Chiesa latina cipriota sono rappresentati da Benedettini, Carmelitani, Cistercensi; nella prima metà del secolo successivo giungono i Domenicani e i Frati Minori, a cui sovente è affidato il ministero episcopale, oltretutto, a questi ultimi, la Custodia della Terra Santa.

È questa, per sommi capi, la cornice storica dentro cui si colloca l'introduzione di Jean Richard in lingua inglese "The Papacy and Cyprus" (I, pp. 1-65), da cui non si può prescindere per una comprensione della storia non solo di Cipro, ma della stessa civiltà europea nei suoi rapporti con il Vicino Oriente tra il XII e il XIV secolo. Richard, firma prestigiosa tra gli storici medievisti, specialista nell'ambito delle relazioni Oriente-Occidente, offre in questa sede un saggio storiografico documentato e di ampio respiro che condensa in un'argomentata sintesi i risultati di vari decenni di studi e ricerche (la sua prima pubblicazione in materia cipriota risale al 1947). La trattazione contempla molteplici profili — politico, diplomatico, militare, economico, sociologico, culturale, ecclesiastico, religioso — evidenziati dai titoli dei paragrafi in cui è articolato il suo contributo: *The Kingdom of Cyprus under Papal Protection*, *The Papacy and the Cypriot Crown*, *The Papacy and the Latin Church of Cyprus*, *Papal Finances and the System of Benefices*, *The Papacy and the Latin Religious Orders on Cyprus*, *The Papacy, the Greeks, and the Eastern Christians*, *The Christian Society of Cyprus and Papal Intervention*, *The Crusades and the Defence of Christianity: Cyprus' Role*.

I rimandi alle lettere pontificie offrono puntuali e numerosi elementi di raccordo tra il preambolo storiografico e i testi.

L'edizione dei documenti è introdotta da Christopher Schabel (I, pp. 67-92). L'immane perdita di originali si coglie in tutta la sua gravità laddove il curatore riferisce che, tranne *disiecta membra* notarili o di legislazione ecclesiastica conservati a Genova, a Venezia, a Parigi e in Vaticano, "of the Cypriot royal chancery, no original codices from the once abundant archives are preserved for the period before 1378" (I, p. 69), e ancora: "of other types of ecclesiastical documents [...] nothing remains of the original archives of the more than one hundred monasteries — of monastic, mendicant, and military orders, Latin, Greek, and Eastern Christian — that functioned on the island in the mid-fourteenth century" (I, p. 70).

Tanto più preziosi risultano, quindi, il Cartolario della cattedrale di Nicosia, compilato nel 1322 e conservato alla Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, e le raccolte di fonti custodite presso l'Archivio Segreto Vaticano: gli *Instrumenta miscellanea* e soprattutto i celebri *Registra Vaticana*, in serie quasi continua a partire da Innocenzo III (1198), imprescindibili per conoscere i meccanismi della cancelleria pontificia e il sistema documentario ivi applicato. Non tutte le bolle pergamenacee erano ricopiate nei Registri prima della loro consegna al destinatario piegate e sigillate; Schabel calcola che nei primi due tomi del *Bullarium* sia pubblicato circa un quinto degli atti destinati a Cipro tra il 1198 e il 1314 e che il volume complessivo degli originali poteva dunque aggirarsi attorno ai 3.000 pezzi. L'istituzione mittente è sempre la cancelleria pontificia, legata direttamente alla

persona del papa; ma la data topica delle bolle non indica più soltanto Roma e il Laterano, bensì anche Viterbo, Ferentino, Anagni, Orvieto, Perugia, Napoli, Lione e soprattutto Avignone, perché le assenze del pontefice dall'Urbe non sono così rare come in passato, e talvolta anzi si protraggono nel tempo.

"Reading Papal Letters" è un'appropriata sezione di diplomatica pontificia in cui Schabel richiama analiticamente la struttura del documento pontificio e le parti in esso riconoscibili, i suoi caratteri intrinseci, e determinati formulari affermatosi nell'uso della curia romana in relazione alle mutate circostanze e necessità dell'epoca. La redazione delle bolle obbedisce ad una serie di rigorose prescrizioni che, imposte da Innocenzo III, caratterizzano il sistema documentario pontificio per tutto il Medioevo. L'*usus scribendi* contempla, tra l'altro, la caratteristica desinenza del genitivo singolare dei sostantivi della prima declinazione in *-e* dovuta, in campo fonetico, al progressivo affievolirsi della nozione di dittongo fin dall'età altomedievale.

Il curatore illustra nei dettagli gli obiettivi perseguiti, l'*iter* per il reperimento delle fonti edite e inedite e il metodo ecdotico adottato per la pubblicazione dei testi. Il nome del pontefice, con le date rispettivamente di elezione al pontificato e di inizio del ministero petrino, è posto in apertura a ciascun gruppo di lettere le quali si susseguono in ordine cronologico (I, pp. 95-516; II, pp. 1-528). Una sigla alfanumerica ("a-1" per la prima lettera di Celestino III, "b-1" per la prima lettera del successore Innocenzo III, ecc.) contraddistingue ogni epistola a cui, nell'introduzione di Richard, si fa riferimento per gli opportuni rinvii testuali. Le date topica e cronica del documento precedono un'accurata sintesi del medesimo in lingua inglese, che diventa una vera e propria parafrasi quando le informazioni concernono più specificamente Cipro e i ciprioti. Fa seguito una speciale sezione, dedicata allo stato di reperibilità delle fonti, distinta in tante voci quanti sono gli strumenti in cui compare — per esteso o in compendio, in copia manoscritta o in edizione a stampa — il testo della lettera in esame: originale (quasi sempre perduto), segnatura dei Registri Vaticani (fonte primaria per gran parte delle lettere) e di eventuali copie manoscritte posteriori (importanti, ad esempio, i testimoni della Biblioteca Vallicelliana di Roma e della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi), regesti, edizioni e traduzioni. Il testo della bolla papale in edizione critica è corredato dal relativo apparato in cui il curatore giustifica la *constitutio textus* fondata sulla collazione sia delle copie manoscritte, sia delle più antiche edizioni a stampa. Un secondo apparato segnala i luoghi citati dalle Sacre Scritture e dagli atti conciliari. In calce a bolle di particolare interesse si legge un commentario inteso a stimolare ulteriori ricerche o ad aprire un confronto su questioni controverse.

Il vol. III dell'opera si presenta con una fisionomia diversa. Nessun'altra cancelleria medioevale ha emanato una quantità così rilevante di documenti come la cancelleria pontificia; durante il XIV secolo il loro numero aumenta ulteriormente a seguito dell'istituzione curiale dei benefici. La mole, dunque, e il carattere sovente stereotipato hanno indotto Jean Richard a pubblicare soltanto il regesto di ciascuna delle 2.151 bolle emanate nel periodo 1316-1378 (III, pp. 31-499). L'introduzione storica, in lingua francese (III, pp. 11-23), è così articolata:

La chancellerie pontificale et les registres, Les destinataires des actes, Les collations des bénéfices et les recommandations, Les grâces et les dispenses, Les indulgences et les privilèges.

La bibliografia generale, a cui si fa frequente rinvio, è elencata alle pp. 25-29, ma ulteriori opere specifiche relative a singoli pontificati compaiono in apertura a ciascuna sezione del *corpus* documentario. Il regesto di ogni documento, preceduto dalla sigla alfanumerica e dalle date cronica e topica, è corredato in coda dall'indicazione delle fonti manoscritte — soprattutto i *Registra Avenionensia* cartacei conservati nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano — e delle edizioni a stampa. Completano il III tomo pochi *addenda* e *corrigenda* ai voll. I e II, l'*index nominum* (III, pp. 507-541) e infine l'*index locorum* (III, pp. 543-548).

L'opera nel suo insieme ha il grande pregio intrinseco di mettere a disposizione della comunità scientifica una serie rilevante di fonti documentarie sulla storia delle relazioni tra il papato, le potenze dinastiche europee e il complesso scacchiere geopolitico del Mediterraneo orientale. A Schabel va riconosciuto anche il merito di avere collaborato a far giungere in porto un imponente lavoro di ordinata raccolta e organizzazione di materiale documentario avviato già nella prima metà del secolo scorso da Perrat e proseguito autorevolmente da Richard. Accertamento di prima mano condotto sistematicamente sulle fonti, acribia nell'edizione e nei regesti delle bolle pontificie, e ampio corredo di commentari e strumenti bibliografici sono i tratti qualificanti di un caposaldo storico-filologico da cui non potrà prescindere chiunque intenda condurre ulteriori indagini sull'isola di Cipro, storico crocevia tra nazioni, culture e religioni.

G. Rigotti

TOTI, Marco, *La preghiera e l'immagine. L'esicasmo tardobizantino (XIII-XIV secolo): temi antropologici, storico-comparativi e simbolici*. Prefazione di Julien Ries [Storia dell'arte 57], Jaca Book, Milano 2012, pp. 186.

Il libro inizia con un'autorevole prefazione del Cardinale Julien Ries († 23.02. 2013). L'esicasmo è nato tra monaci, alla ricerca della *esichia* o pace dello spirito, per avvicinarsi a Dio. Il cardinale inserisce con chiarezza e semplicità nella storia delle religioni la problematica studiata da Toti. L'*homo religiosus* vive l'esperienza del sacro che si manifesta nell'*homo orans* già dall'epoca neolitica. L'*homo orans* di Larsa dedica un ex voto al dio mesopotamico, verso l'anno 1750 a.C. La statua raffigura il re inginocchiato, la mano sinistra sul cuore, la destra sulla bocca. Nelle rocce di Naquane in Valcamonica è scolpito un gruppo di persone che camminano verso il sole nascente e recitano preghiere. Nel III secolo i militari egiziani praticano la preghiera esicasta, che significa calma, tranquillità e suppone un metodo di preghiera che favorisce l'unione con Dio.

Nel secolo XIII rinasce l'esichia sul Monte Athos e si ode l'invocazione del nome di Gesù con il metodo che Simeone il Nuovo Teologo ha descritto, affinché la preghiera esicasta conduca a una sincera *metanoia* o conversione. Tra il XIII secolo

e la fine del sec. XIV il monachesimo athonita pratica la cosiddetta discesa della mente nel cuore con l'invocazione frequente e costante dedicata al nome di Gesù. I principali maestri di spirito sono Niceforo l'Esicasta, Simeone il Nuovo Teologo e Gregorio il Sinaita. Quest'ultimo suggerisce la suddivisione delle due formule fisse del mattino. "Siediti su uno sgabello basso, non più alto di mezzo cubito. Spingi la mente nel cuore e mantienila in quella postura, mentre ti dolgono il petto, le spalle e la nuca, grida con perseveranza nel tuo spirito, 'Signore Gesù abbi pietà di me!'". L'onfaloscopia o concentrazione sul proprio ombelico è descritta unicamente dallo Pseudo-Simeone: "Eleva il tuo spirito al di sopra di ogni oggetto umano o passeggero. Poi appoggiando la barba contro il petto, dirigì l'occhio del corpo, insieme con tutto il tuo spirito, nel centro del tuo ventre, cioè sull'ombelico. Non respirare a tuo agio e scruta mentalmente l'interno delle tue viscere, alla ricerca del luogo del cuore, là dove tutte le potenze del cuore si raccolgono".

Questa formula del metodo di orazione esicasta, nella sua espressione athonita nei secoli XIII e XIV, era già largamente insegnata e diffusa da Simeone il Nuovo Teologo del secolo X-XI. Si tratta di alcuni procedimenti esteriori ritmati sull'invocazione (prassi respiratoria, ricerca del luogo del cuore, discesa della mente nel cuore, concentrazione sull'ombelico). La fase comparativa potrà scoprire somiglianze con operazioni praticate in altre religioni orientali. Ma sarebbe un errore credere identiche queste parziali somiglianze. La storia ci insegna infatti dell'errore di quanti avevano assicurato di avere incontrato uno "yoga cristiano" e un "sufismo cristiano". La comparazione storico-religiosa scopre somiglianze, ma nello stesso tempo sostanziali diversità.

In seguito Marco Toti si occupa di icone. Vi è una scelta di tavole lignee dipinte, frutto anche esse dell'esicasmò. Sono sottoposte a colori agli occhi del lettore. Hanno i motivi essenziali dell'iconografia cristiana orientale, in contesto sinaita, greco, russo, macedone, in ordine sistematico, per illustrare la storia della salvezza. Maria e Cristo sono rappresentati insieme, Madre e Bambino, Madre di Dio e *Panaghia*. Molte di queste icone si trovano a Mosca, nella Galleria Tretjakov, alla grande Lavra del Monte Athos, al Cremlino, al Museo russo di San Pietroburgo, al Museo delle Belle Arti di Jaroslavl, al Monastero di Marko, al Monastero di Santa Caterina del Sinai, al Museo Bizantino di Atene, al Monastero di storia e di architettura di Novgorod, alla Galleria delle Icone di San Clemente, al Monastero della trasfigurazione di Meteora, al Monastero della Peribleptos di Ohrid, al Monastero della Trinità di San Sergio, e a Santa Caterina del Sinai.

Interessante il confronto fra arte musulmana e arte cristiana. Valide le osservazioni fatte dal francese Henry Corbin e dal prete russo Pavel Aleksandrovič Florenskij. Corbin e W. Chittick hanno studiato l'antropologia e l'escatologia di Ibn 'Arabî. Corbin scrive di filosofia araba e persiana e della immaginazione creativa circa il sufismo di Ibn 'Arabî.

Concludendo, non possiamo fare a meno di consultare Olivier Clément per il quale l'esicasmò non è una tecnica, ma una prassi ascetica. Semmai, insiste Clément, l'esicasmò è una tecnica che orienta verso la preghiera. Non basta ridurlo a tecnicismo spirituale. Si deve dettagliare che l'esicasmò fa scendere la mente al

cuore e che uscendo dalla carne del peccato, rientra nel corpo, tempio vivo dello Spirito. L'esicasmo non è tecnica ma prassi ascetica nella quale la tecnica ha ruolo secondario, utile dal punto di vista simbolico e antropologico, come appare dalle fonti athonite. Cosa dire allora del racconto del Pellegrino russo del secolo XIX, per cui lo studioso Pentovskij ha faticato a lungo per farne una edizione critica, dovendo alla fine convincersi che si tratta non di storia, ma di quanto si direbbe oggi una *fiction*, per guadagnare il consenso e la simpatia dei lettori. Anche a noi è successo di leggere dopo la caduta del regime la tragica vicenda di russi edificanti che nelle prigioni sovietiche sopportavano eroicamente pene immeritate. Oltre l'edizione in russo avevo in mano l'edizione francese. Anche quel libro era una *fiction*, per di più non paragonabile alla *fiction* del Pellegrino russo.

Ho letto con interesse questo libro di Marco Toti. Ammiro il suo zelo per la storia delle religioni e constato quante volte ha scritto sull'argomento. Ma questa volta, oltre ad avere un tema avvincente, lo ha approfondito sia per la preghiera che per l'arte. E mi congratulo con lui per avere saggiamente consultato non solo libri ma anche specialisti in carne e ossa, non solo italiani, ma anche americani, belgi, rumeni e quanti altri. Felicitazioni!

V. Poggi, S.J.

WELTECKE, Dorothea (herausgegeben von), *Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen. Beiträge zum sechsten deutschen Syrologen-Symposium in Konstanz, Juli 2009* [Göttinger Orientforschungen. I. Reihe: Syriaca 40], Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. IX + 151.

Besides the international series of *Symposia Syriaca*, from Rome 1972 to Malta 2012 (proceedings published mostly in *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* or in *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* and *Parole de l'Orient*) and the *World Syriac Conferences* organized every four years since 1986 by the St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute of Kottayam (Kerala, India; the first was actually held in 1987; proceedings published in *The Harp*), a number of series of conferences or thematic workshops are organized on a more regional basis, though open to contributors from outside the regions involved, to promote Syriac academic studies and/or spread the knowledge of Syriac culture at the local level and in the various national languages.

Selected papers from the North-American *Symposiums of Syriac Studies* — 1. Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island) 1991; 2. Catholic University of America (Washington DC) 1995; 3. University of Notre Dame (IN) 1999; 4. Princeton Theological Seminary (NJ) 2003; 5. University of Toronto 2007; 6. Duke University (Durham NC) 2011 — have appeared or will appear in various publications (e.g., in the journal *Hugoye* or in the series *Eastern Christian Studies*). The *Dorushe Graduate Student Conference on Syriac Studies* is based in the USA. The fifth conference will be held at Duke University, March 28-29, 2014. The *Canadian Society for Syriac Studies*, founded in 1999 at the University of Toronto, has organized a symposium on a specific topic every year since 2001. Proceedings are usually

published in the Journal of the Society, printed and distributed by Gorgias Press. Since 2002 the Ambrosiana Library and the Italian association of Syriac scholars *Syriaca* have organized a series of thematic workshops in Milan. The proceedings have been published regularly by the Centro Ambrosiano: 1. *Le ricchezze spirituali delle Chiese sire* (2003), 2. *Le Chiese sire tra IV e VI secolo: dibattito dottrinale e ricerca spirituale* (2005), 3. *Storia, cristologia e tradizioni della Chiesa Siro-orientale* (2006), 4. *La tradizione cristiana Siro-occidentale (V-VII secolo)* (2007), 5. *La grande stagione della mistica Siro-orientale (VI-VIII secolo)*, 6. *L'eredità religiosa e culturale dei Siri-occidentali tra VI e IX secolo* (2012). A Syriac session is now part of the Academia Ambrosiana (workshops held every year in November). Since 2004, *La Société d'études syriaques* has organized roundtables on a specific theme in Paris, every year in the autumn. A synthesis volume is published in the *Études syriaques* series: 1. *Les inscriptions syriaques* (2004), 2. *Les apocryphes syriaques* (2005), 3. *Les liturgies syriaques* (2006), 4. *Les pères grecs en syriaque* (2007), 5. *L'Ancien Testament syriaque* (2008), 6. *L'historiographie syriaque* (2009), 7. *Le monachisme syriaque* (2010), 8. *La mystique syriaque* (2011), 9. *L'hagiographie syriaque* (2012), 10. *Les églises en monde syriaque* (in preparation).

Proceedings of the German series have appeared regularly: 1. Hermannsburg 1998: *Zu Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie, und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen* (Lit 2000), 2. Wittenberg 2000: *Syriaca* (Lit 2002), 3. Vierzehnheiligen, Bamberg 2002: *Syriaca II* (Lit 2004), 4. Trier 2004: *Die Suryoye und ihre Umwelt* (Lit 2005), 5. Berlin 2006: *Akten des 5. Symposiums zur Sprache, Geschichte, Theologie und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen* (SSHB 9, Shaker 2010), 6. Konstanz 2009: *Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie, und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen* (Harrasowitz 2012), 7. Göttingen 2011: in preparation. The volume under discussion contains the texts of 12 of the 29 papers presented at the symposium held in Konstanz 2009 and bears witness to the diverse research interests and approaches cultivated among Syriac scholars in German-speaking Europe. The only contribution published in English is by Mor Polycarpus A. Aydin, Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan of the Netherlands.

The first part deals with history, literature and culture from the late Sassanid period to the early 14th century. Jürgen Tubach (*Der Anteil einheimischer Christen in den ostarabischen Diözesen der Hyparchie der Persis*, 1-11) surveys the presence at synods of bishops and prelates from the Christian dioceses of the Gulf region (*Bēt Qaṭrāyē*) around present-day Qatar, probably also including Bahrain (Samāhiḡ on the island Muḡarraḡ) and the present-day Saudi Arabian coast (Syriac Toduru is the Tarut island across from present-day al-Qatif, Syriac Hḡar possibly corresponds to al-Hofuf). Proper names are often of Persian (Zoroastrian), Syriac or Aramaic origin. Syriac was the liturgical and cultural language of Christianity in that region and various East-Syrian authors of the 7th century came from *Bēt Qaṭrāyē*. There is evidence that the mother-tongue of most Christians was Persian rather than Arabic (on the linguistic profile of the Syrian Christians of the Gulf region see R. Contini, "La lingua del Bēt Qaṭrāyē", in J. Lentin — A. Lonnet [eds.], *Mélanges David Cohen*, Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2003: 173-81 and M. Maggi, "New Per-

sian Glosses in East Syrian Texts of the Eighth to Tenth Centuries", in L. Paul [ed.], *Persian Origins*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003: 111-49 [esp. 113]). Bishops come only from the coastal region and Christianity was probably less deeply rooted in the Arabic-speaking hinterland, which would possibly explain the relatively fast conversion to Islam.

Matthias Binder (*Mart Christina. Eine Märtyrerin am Ende des Sassanidenreichs*, 13-26) publishes a German translation of the *Life of Saint Christine*, a convert from Zoroastrianism and a Persian martyr of the late Sassanid period, and discusses the authorship of the text (only partly preserved in one manuscript, published by P. Bedjan in 1894) for Babai the Great, who died in 628, the year Chosroe II was killed. According to Binder, the author is referring to the killing of the sovereign in a very polemical passage against heathen kings who persecute Christians and in the end fail and lose their positions. This would suggest that the text is a very late composition by Babai. The Christology, and especially the theological reflection on the Cross contained in the *Life*, is compatible with this attribution.

Max Deeg (*Die „Leuchtende Lehre“ — Christen in China der Tang-Zeit, eine Bestandsaufnahme*, 27-38) goes back to the much discussed and commented Stele of Xi'an. He tries to read its terminology and content from the point of view of the Chinese historical context. In this perspective, the stele would represent the specificity of Christianity, and especially of Christian monasticism, in contrast with other monastic, especially Buddhist, communities.

Peter Bruns (*Farbliche Kennzeichnungen von Christen im muslimischen Orient*, 39-51) surveys Christian sources (from the very earliest to the 13th century) on the Islamic conquest and the consolidation of Islamic rule and concludes that there is no evidence of or witness to special clothing prescriptions for Christian minorities before the 853 decree of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil obliging Christians and Jews to wear honey-coloured hoods and belts of a particular type (*zūnnār*).

Using a linguistically sound classification of neologisms (occasional ad-hoc lexical creations, the creation of new lexemes, resemantization of existing lexemes, and other lexical innovations), Helen Younansardaroud (*Sogenannte Neologismen in 'Abdīšō's Paradies von Eden*, 53-8) examines their function in the collection of religious poems by Abdisho bar Brikha entitled *Paradise of Eden* (1290/1 AD). The poems (*mēmre*) follow the model of the Arabic *maqāmāt* and the author (d. 1318), probably the most representative East-Syriac authority of the so-called Syriac Renaissance, uses lexical creativity and other stylistic devices to revitalize Classical Syriac and demonstrate its richness and versatility as a poetic language, in comparison and competition with Arabic and Persian, the most influential poetic languages of his time.

The second part deals with theological and liturgical issues. Mor Polycarpus A. Aydin, Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan of the Netherlands, offers the reader a fine florilegium of passages by Ephrem and Jacob of Serugh on the part played by women in liturgical singing, as a sign of their integration in the spiritual life and public space of the Syrian Church ('A Wedding feast of Song': *St. Ephrem and the Singing Ministry of Women in the Church*, 59-63).

Timothy Aelurus (d. 477) was Cyril's follower, Patriarch of Alexandria, and an

influential supporter of the early anti-Chalcedonian party. Christian Lange („*Eutyches aber wollte nicht einsehen*“ — *Anmerkungen zur Argumentation des Timotheos Ailuros gegen Eutyches und die „Eutychianer“*, 65-81) reconstructs his life on the basis of the available sources and focuses on the polemic against Eutyches' monophysitism, as this can be found in his writings. The author concludes that Syriac documents and authors should be given more attention as sources on post-Chalcedon times.

On the opposite side of the Christological spectrum, Ute Possekel (*Thomas von Edessa über die Taufe Jesu im Jordan und die christliche Taufe*, 83-98) finds the strong influence of Theodore of Mopsuestia in Thomas of Edessa's (d. 540) interpretation of the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan as a symbolic foreshadowing of Christian baptism and in his insistence on the eschatological dimension of baptism as a promise of and premise for the future resurrection.

Isabel Toral-Niehoff (*Die Tauflegende des Lakhmidenkönigs Nu'man: Ein Beispiel für syrisch-arabische Intertextualität?*, 99-114) makes an intertextual analysis of three versions of the legendary conversion to Christianity and baptism of Nu'man, the last king of the Lakhmid dynasty. The author gives a German translation of the story as told in a late 11th-century Shiite historiographical work (*Manāqib al-mazyadiyya*) and compares it with two East-Syrian sources: the hagiographic *Story of the Patriarch Sabrišo'*, written in Syriac by a certain monk Petros (7th century?) and the Arabic anonymous *Chronicle of Siirt* (early 11th century). The legend can be described as an attempt to present the birth of the Christian Arabic nation and to legitimize the very existence of Arab Christians, which was questioned and challenged by Muslims. Nevertheless, an attentive intertextual perusal of the sources demonstrates the high level of permeability of linguistic and religious borders in 11th-12th century Iraq.

Following J. Kuckerts, "Die Melodientypen der westsyrischen liturgischen Gesänge" (*Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 53, 1969), Ulrike-Rebekka Nieten (*Byzantinischer und syrischer Oktoechos*, 115-25) underlines the role of rhythm in assigning a melodic pattern to one of the eight modes of the West-Syriac oktoechos, i.e. the system of eight modes or tones, used for the composition and classification of liturgical chant in eastern and western medieval Churches. She proposes eight different rhythmical and metrical transcriptions of a Syriac verse, as this would be sung according to the eight modes, but it is not quite clear which source/s (vocal performances, melodic transcriptions of scholars, Kuckerts' analysis...) she used for the transcriptions. Introducing and concluding her proposal, she touches upon fascinating questions, such as the influence that Byzantine music possibly exerted on Gregorian on the one hand, and Syriac and other eastern traditions on the other, the autonomy and originality of the Syriac tradition and its influence on Arab musical tradition. The answers to this kind of question are of course rather problematic, since contacts may be continuous or recurrent over time, prestige may change side and influence may well have been reciprocal. Moreover, all traditions are characterized by internal variation and complexity and it is remarkable that western musicology almost exclusively focuses on West-Syriac hymnody, whereas

East-Syriac chant schools should be more carefully described and studied, especially as regards their connections with Byzantine, but also Arabic, Persian and Ottoman-Turkish musical traditions.

Theresia Hainthaler (*Christologische Bemerkungen zur ostsyrischen Liturgie*, 127-39) provides an overview of East-Syriac liturgical texts in translation — most of them belonging to the 6th and 7th centuries — with the intent to show their Biblical inspiration and literary, poetic value and check their suitability in the context of the ecumenical dialogue. Some of them indeed contain exclusively East-Syriac Christological formulae, but references to Christ's divine nature are frequent, which curiously surprises the German scholar.

From the point of view of the recent history of Syrian Christians, the last contribution addresses a sociological issue of great concern today. Martin Tamcke (*„Rückwanderung oder Bleiben in Europa und Amerika?“ Ostsyrische Migranten in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 141-9) deals with the crucial question faced by Christian migrants from the Near East: should they try to return to their homeland or stay in the lands where they migrated (Europe and America)? He looks for answers to this question searching the archives of the Lutheran mission about the East-Syrians who left Urmia in the first decades of the 20th century. He concludes that, although this type of document cannot provide a comprehensive overview of the history of the Christian migration from the Urmi region, it nevertheless gives us an insight into the dramatic decisions that individuals and families had to make, given the need to find work or escape persecution for religious reasons. It also reveals a great variety of situations and reactions, ranging from those who have found a new homeland in the land where they migrated and those who were forced to live a life of hardship and uncertainty there.

A. Mengozzi

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